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Christian College Magazine

"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

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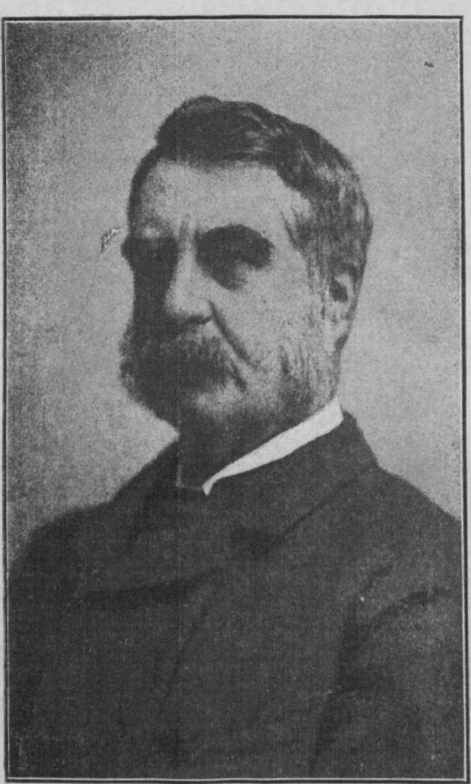

DR. WILLIAM MILLER

(By kind permission of the Young Men of India)

THE MADRAS
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The Rev. William Miller, C.I.E., M.A., D.D., LL.D.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH *(Concluded)*[1]

By Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswamy Chettiar

New Year's Day 1901, the opening day of the 20th century, witnessed a function in Madras at which honour of a conspicuous kind was done to the man who in no small measure was responsible for creating or setting free in Southern India, one might say almost deliberately and of set purpose as part of a divine plan, the moral and intellectual forces which were destined to make the India of the future different from the India of the past. Lord Ampthill had only a few days before assumed office as Governor of Madras and his first public appearance was for unveiling the statue of Dr. Miller. The new and young Governor could have had no better introduction to the good will of the people over whose affairs he was sent to preside, and the graceful speech he made on the occasion showed that he availed himself to the full of the opportunity thus afforded. The movement for perpetuating the name and figure of Dr. Miller during his life time was the offspring of the College Day movement, for to most former students Dr. Miller was the Christian College, and they loved the one since they loved the other. How far love for the man will lead to love of the ideals which inspired him in the work whose beneficent effects all agree in acknowledging with gratitude, is a question which only the future can solve. But the statue is there—a standing monument of the South Indian people's gratitude for the self-forgetting labours of a man from the north-west corner of the globe who loved them and lived for them, rejoicing in spending and being spent for their well-

[1] We regret very much that limits of space prevent our publication of the full text of Mr. Kandaswamy Chettiar's biographical sketch. The October issue contained the first part, and this article constitutes the concluding portion. Our readers will be glad to know that the complete sketch is to be published shortly in book form by the Christian Literature Society, Madras.—Editor.

being. The molten image will at all events give posterity an idea of the calm and purposeful face and the well-poised figure, the expression and tenement of a soul fixed in God and seeking to embrace all men within its sphere and beyond in thoughtful service.

An event of world-wide importance by which Dr. Miller was deeply touched was the death of Queen Victoria. Born in the next year after her accession to the throne, he saw in her departure from this world in the first month of the opening year of the new century the closing of a great period in the world's history in which amidst all its varied influences it was his own privilege to live and work, and the passing of a great personage who by the purity and force of her character helped the world along lines of peaceful political and social evolution. In the Memorial Sermon preached by him in the College Church, Dr. Miller illustrated her reliance upon God, her abhorrence of everything dishonorable, and her power to take the right line of action amidst perplexing circumstances, by quoting those famous words, said to have been her own words and written by her own hand, in which she proclaimed the guiding principle of her policy as Sovereign in India. 'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any way favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law.' This noble pledge of religious neutrality Dr. Miller regarded as the fairest and most Christian solution of the claims of different religions in India upon the attention of the State—a solution which was in consonance with the educational policy of the State in India as laid down in the Halifax Despatch of 1854—a policy of religious neutrality, not in the sense of the State being irreligious or anti-religious, but in the sense of allowing, if not encouraging, the professors of every faith equally to serve the people by taking part in their education according to the best of their lights.

Speaking at the College Day celebration in December 1901, Dr. Miller ventured on a prophecy—or rather on a statement of his wishes—as to the trend of events in the new century. His main wish was that the wise and beneficent system of education introduced into India in 1854 and unfolded in detail by the Education Commission of 1882 should be really and firmly established in India, and that the most important feature of that system should be the religious character of the education imparted in various schools and colleges, whatever the moral and religious views approved by the managers might be. As a Christian he did not feel deterred from wishing that the underlying truths which had found utterance in India and Arabia should be acknowledged all the world over like the philosophies, the poetry and the laws of Greece and Rome. If education was to have its full beneficial effect, it must be guided by the highest foreshadowings of eternal truth with which those who imparted it were acquainted. The success so

far attained amidst difficulties and failures gave room for the hope that this ideal of education would be realised in India in the course of the new century. Speaking about himself Dr. Miller expressed his wish in the words of Goldsmith:—

> 'I here have hopes my latest hours to crown,
> Amid these peaceful shades to lay me down,
> To husband out life's taper at the close,
> And keep the flame from wasting by repose.'

To put the matter plainly, he said, 'Provided I am allowed to be among you as I have been for the last two years, doing only as much as I feel that I prudently can, there is no obvious reason why I should not indulge the hope of seeing and even of helping the voyage of the College across some small part of the waters of the century before us.'

How far Dr. Miller was able to fulfil this wish, and how much of it, is now a matter of history. The Providence which he believed guided the seasons and the habitations of nations as well as of individuals decided for him the duration and the locality of his service for India. Subject to this condition he was enabled to fulfil his wish to help the voyage of the College across a considerable part of the twentieth century. The various lines along which his service now ran may be summed up as follows:—taking part in the teaching work of the College, advising without taking part in the administration of the College, studying and expressing his views on the educational problems of the day, expounding principles of missionary policy, emphasizing those moral and spiritual truths which bore upon Christian work in India, helping to solve those questions of the Church at home in which the fortunes of the College were involved, and keeping in touch with, and expressing for the benefit of his former students his views on, public events and movements in which large moral issues were involved.

Dr. Miller's compulsory freedom from the regular routine of College work gave him the advantage of viewing educational questions with the mental detachment and mature wisdom of a spectator combined with the experience and practical interest of an active participator. The very small proportion of those who passed the Matriculation Examination of the University revealed a discrepancy between the opinion of teachers and the judgment which the University pronounced through carefully selected agents, which led to the inference that something was very seriously wrong somewhere. Dr. Miller set himself in a series of articles contributed to the College Magazine to diagnose the disease and, if not to apportion blame, at all events to suggest the quarters and the methods from which the remedy might come. Examiners might well do a great deal more to discriminate between those who were fit and those who were unfit for College study. Managers might well help to maintain a higher tone of discipline in schools, and teachers might well set themselves to educate rather than to instruct;

but above all, the Government ought to abolish public examinations of its own which prevented the healthy growth of youthful minds. The appointment of Dr. Miller in July 1901 as Vice-Chancellor of the University marked a welcome departure from a custom so long followed in Madras of appointing an official. As an honour done to the University as well as to Dr. Miller the appointment was viewed with much gratification, but Dr. Miller himself regretted that the opportunity of serving the University as the head of its executive came to him at a time when he was not strong enough to utilise the position for any large and progressive undertaking. It was surely not his fault that the University did not use to the full that capacity for educational statesmanship which was undoubtedly his.

In September 1901 Dr. Miller was invited to Simla by Lord Curzon to attend a Conference of educational experts whom he wished to consult before launching his scheme of educational reforms. Dr. Miller was the only non-official invited, and it was believed that he did not a little to wean Lord Curzon from the idea that it was the first duty of Government to maintain and manage schools and colleges of its own, and that he initiated his lordship in the mysteries of aided education regarded as the first object of the Department's care and its very *raison d'être.*

The University Commission which was the outcome of the Simla Conference had thus the benefit of the advice of the oldest educationist in India who had had a hand and a voice—and a powerful voice too—in formulating the recommendations of the Education Commission, afterwards adopted by the Government of India. It had the additional advantage of examining Dr. Miller as the first witness during its visit to Madras where it began its sittings. Thus Dr. Miller was able to give a direction to the investigations of the Commission which had a great deal of prejudice to overcome on account of the masterful methods of Lord Curzon in bringing it into existence. Dr. Miller's influence over its activities in its initial stages went a long way not only to create popular confidence in it, but to make its recommendations sane and sound. These recommendations embodied in the Universities' Amendment Bill tended in the direction in which the Madras University had been developing without any special legislative aid. The Bill sought to develop the teaching side of the universities by instituting university professorships, libraries and laboratories, to encourage post-graduate studies, and to bring the colleges into closer union with the universities by organising an annual inspection of colleges by members of the Syndicate, by encouraging college supervision of students and by reconstructing the Senate on an academic basis so as to give fuller representation on it to those engaged in educational work as well as to university graduates. The Bill provoked a great deal of opposition from such eminent men as Mr. Gokhale whose objection was based upon the fear that the Bill while professing to bring about University reform was really intended to bring the universities under official control and to restrict the number of those who availed themselves of higher education. Though

there was enough justification for this fear in the speech of the member in charge of the Bill, Dr. Miller, who believed in frustrating the possible evil intentions of persons by emphasising and committing them to their professions of good, pointed out the advantages to be secured by working the provisions of the Bill since thereby a much-needed centre to the teaching in colleges would be brought into existence, and also the way would be prepared for introducing the residential system. He believed that the Bill aimed at making the university in relation to the affiliated colleges what the Sun was to the planetary system. Colleges might move in their own orbits and pursue their characteristic aims, subject to the unifying influence and harmonising control of a central body like the University. As for the fear of the University being officialised, he had far too much faith in the love of independence on the part of the educated men of India to believe that any such thing would be allowed to take place. So far at least as Madras was concerned nobody could say that the Universities Act of 1904 did not help to democratise the Senate even if it did not bring in a fully-fledged teaching university in the midst of a number of residential colleges.

At the College Day celebration of 1905 Dr. Miller made an important speech on University reform. There was the vague fear in the public mind that the reconstitution of the University under the new Act would uproot and kill the plant of higher education whose defective growth it was proposed to remedy. Dr. Miller would compare all attempts to revolutionise instead of reforming the educational system to an experience he had when he went home first time from India via Suez. He found a number of railway engines in and around the station at Suez; in Cairo he found a still larger number of engines lying idle and so again at Alexandria. On enquiring he found that these were engines discarded on account of some defect or other in each of them. Instead of remedying defects in an engine, the railway authorities had immediately ordered a new one from Britain or France. To do away with the present system of education and to try to put another in its place would be as foolish as the wasteful methods of the old Egyptian railway management. Dr. Miller thought that the most permanent reforms in the University were those which emanated from the Colleges. In such reforms the Madras Christian College had taken a leading part—the Hostel system, the constitution of the Senatus or the College governing body instead of the Principal being the sole responsible authority in the management of the College, the provision of a consulting room, the introduction of inter-school and inter-college rules, the annual College Day,—these were some of the features of College life introduced and practised in the Christian College before they were adopted in other colleges and thus made part and parcel of University life in the Presidency. These features now received a sort of consecration by their appearance in the new Universities' Act for all India. There were other features like the legal incorporation of the College, the establishment of a Retiring Fund for the teaching staff, and

the publication of the College Calendar which had not then come to be generally adopted. Since Dr. Miller made this speech other features have been introduced, of which one, namely, the facilities provided for students to read for themselves in the College Hall under the supervising eye of a silent Professor or Lecturer and with the help of books from the Consulting Library between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. may be mentioned. Apart from influences rising upwards from the Colleges the University should act for itself. Its greatest need was that it should have more intelligent and thoughtful students. The school boys who came up to be its students were prevented from being intelligent and thoughtful by their attention being diverted to the grasping and digesting of what they had to learn and directed to the easiest methods of passing the examination. The Madras University in spite of its original plan was for a long time a mere examining body taking no account of a student appearing for its examinations from a college or as a private student. The affiliation of colleges brought into force after a struggle so late as 1877 made college life essential to a candidate for a university examination. This direction of students' minds from cram to study was however thwarted by the institution of public examinations for boys too young to stand the strain and the perplexity caused by such examinations. The University's great need was that the students who went up to it from the school should be of a more mature and thoughtful mind, recipients of a school training which gave free scope for their mental and moral development. The quality of its matriculates should be improved so that they might derive greater benefit from their university course. The engine should be supplied with better fuel in order to run better than it did. This do not however mean that the courses of study and methods of examination did not require improvement. All these reforms needed the intelligent sympathy and support of the educated public.

While thus helping to solve educational problems in Southern India, Dr. Miller's mind was also occupied with questions of missionary policy. He had presided at a conference of South Indian missionaries, the second of the kind held at Bangalore in 1879, and in January 1900 he was called upon to open the third conference held at Madras. Knowing how violently some of the missionaries differed from their brethren on methods of work, Dr. Miller pleaded for patience and forbearance. The conference 'ought to show the utmost willingness to look at all subjects that come before it from many different points of view. Each member ought to be, not ready alone but eager to learn whatever can be learnt from experience that has been either of a special kind or wider than his own. Each must consent to learn that sometimes a thing which is but the second best in its proper nature is yet the best available and is therefore to be strenuously upheld. Each must learn that many things which are confessedly but temporary may at times be as valuable as things that are permanent, must learn in fact that in its own place the scaffolding is as important as the building. And we have

equal need, all of us, to keep constantly in mind that we must judge everything that comes before us in the light of our own special duty and our own peculiar call. We are not to decide in favour of this or that because it suits the prejudices or the sentiments of the Church at large, or because it has been found sound and useful amid other surroundings or in other lands. Our decisions must be appropriate to our own surroundings and suggested by our own providential call. And yet the caution may perhaps be not unneeded that those of us who regard, and perhaps regard most rightly, their own peculiar work as peculiarly important, are not to be thereby tempted to forget that other lines of action may be equally important and equally necessary for the complete working out of God's purposes in India. Once more there may be need, in a Conference like this, that we should sometimes raise the question whether views ought not to be taken into account which may perchance have no one to represent them here.' Dr. Miller's speech was a plea for tolerance, comprehensiveness, open-mindedness and eagerness to learn, qualities characteristic of himself which accounted in no small measure for his own influence over men of all types and character.

Dr. Miller attached a great deal of importance to the spirit in which men faced a situation or performed a task. In March 1904 he preached a sermon at the College Church on 'The Temper of Christian Service.' Taking as his text Isaiah's call to the Israelites safely settled in Babylon, to leave behind all that had made life happy and prosperous for them and go back to Jerusalem that they might assume the leadership of the nations around and fulfil their national destiny of bringing those nations to a sense of the nearness of God, Dr. Miller pointed out how the Christian Church might assume the leadership of the nations if it would live and work not for itself or for its own glory but purely and solely for their good. 'Is any intelligent observer,' asked Dr. Miller, 'unaware that among the greatest —probably by far the greatest—obstacle to the growth of the Kingdom of Christ in India is the belief of those around us that the Christian Church has some object of its own in all that it is doing for them—in its proclamation of the truth, in maintaining dispensaries and colleges and schools, in trying to ameliorate the temporal lot of the down-trodden and oppressed? Would not a new day come if it were really felt by all that the good of man was the sole inspiring motive of all these and other methods of activity? How many of those not belonging to the Christian Church within these walls do not believe that what the Church does is all done purely and solely for the benefit of those who are not within its pale? Even if there be one or two who recognise in their inmost thoughts that the missionaries do what they are doing for purposes entirely different from their own interests or the interests of their society or Church, at all events, such recognition is not powerful enough to leaven the *ordinary* thought of those who stand nearest to the Church's work—not even of those who for many a long year have been in most intimate connection with this College. Unavowed, perhaps, not formulated even to themselves, there is still the underlying

thought that the aim of the Church is something that serves itself—something other than the good of all men. Some will say that if there be such an underlying thought, it is but an example of the perversity of those who entertain it. I grant that if profession could work conviction, there is enough profession of disinterestedness on our part to convince every one that we care only for the good of others. Yet a handful of practice outweighs a cart-load of profession, and perhaps if we thoroughtly examine the feelings and aims that animate the Church and at bottom animate ourselves, we might sadly find that the hindrance I have referred to does not arise solely from the perversity of others but has too good grounds in our own failure to realise the ideal of service which this prophet laid before his re-established Israel. It will be agreed that only in proportion as the Church's service approximates in type and spirit to the perfect self-forgetfulness of Christ can there be any hope that the nations will run unto it because of the Lord, its God.'

A sermon which Dr. Miller preached about this time in Nellore bore on Faith maintained through times of transition. Taking the prophet Simeon who hailed the birth of Christ as the representative of a period of transition, Dr. Miller wished the congregation to see in him something of how the passage ought to be made from what was beautiful in its own season and was now out-worn to the new thing which came into its place. Simeon was just and devout—orthodox and thoughtful—valuing the knowledge and opportunities he had and at the same time not over-valuing them. He felt the insufficiency of his mode of life and the need for comfort. 'He was waiting for the consolation of Israel.' The Holy Ghost was upon him and he recognised Jesus as the bringer of comfort. 'Using diligently what he had, valuing it aright, yet longing for more, welcoming the foreshadowings of the new that were from time to time vouchsafed to him, Simeon is the pattern of what is right and true, both in the tendency that we call 'reforming' and in the tendency that we call 'conservative.' He is the pattern of that spirit of clinging to the old and yet welcoming the new when it arises out of the old, which is the only true wisdom, as it is also the only true humility, with regard to religious things, and equally with regard to things social or political. For God's great laws bind all things in His universe. The sphere of religion is the highest of all spheres, but it is regulated on the same principles as the spheres of action and of thought which belong to our present state of being upon earth. What is wisdom in regard to eternal things is also wisdom in regard to temporal things. Of such wisdom the man who waits, but who waits aright, who waits in readiness for change when the right time for change arrives, is the much-needed model.'

The state of Dr. Miller's health might be gauged from his not being able to attend College Day on 30th December 1902. He sent however a message in which he regretted his absence all the more because he was so near being able to be present and hoped to be at College in January 1903. His

one request to former students was that they should make the College Day a regular and permanent function and attendance thereat a duty. He thought that the time of the year when they met was the best since they could be present then in greatest numbers. A brotherhood of former students was calculated to maintain their moral and intellectual life at a high level by helping to revive school and college ideals. Not till November 1903 however was Dr. Miller able to come down from his retreat on the Shevaroys where of course, though he enjoyed rest in the sense of freedom from pressing engagements, he was by no means idle. An idea of how he occupied his time there may be gathered from a study, contributed by him to the August number of the College Magazine, of the Civil Wars or, as he called the period, the Crisis of British History, based on a newly published Life of the Marquis of Argyle (1607-1661). 'To men who are sensitive to the forces at work around them day by day, the actors in the drama of that age present themselves as no mere lay figures. They are felt to be living men more easily and far more vividly than is possible in the case of those whose deeds were done in a past that seems entirely dead, or which is connected with the present by links that it needs an effort to realise. There is further interest in the fact that the questions raised in that age affected two communities, which, though happily united into a single nation now, had been subjected to different kinds of training and had therefore different ways of looking at the problems they were called upon to solve. The action and reaction of England and Scotland on each other, while it brought them close enough together to form ere long a single people, working for practical purposes as a harmonious unit, has also left characteristic differences between them, which still contribute not a little to the healthy development of both, which have been of service in building up the British Empire, and which are worthy of close attention from every student of social and political philosophy.' To History as to Shakespeare and the Bible Dr. Miller always turned for enlightenment and inspiration.

A similar Yercaudian study of a later date was of John Graham of Claverhouse, one of the most picturesque and romantic characters in Scottish history which was notable for the picturesqueness and fascination of its incidents and personages. 'Gifted with something that approached to genius, conspicuously strong, self-reliant, clear-sighted, unscrupulous, immovable in attachment to the cause he made his own, Claverhouse was indeed the Despot's Champion.'

In April 1904, Dr. Miller left Madras for Yercaud whence he went to Colombo *en route* to Britain. The voyage and the change did him considerable good. He was able to attend several meetings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church, at one of which he spoke in support of the proposal to unite the two Scottish Colleges in Calcutta. He intended to return to India in October. In the meantime a bomb burst in Scotland in the shape of a decision of the House of Lords awarding the property of

the Free Church of Scotland as before its union with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1900, to the minority of dissentients in the Free Church who refused to join in the Union. The decision involved invested funds to the amount of over one million pounds besides valuable buildings. The point on which the judgment turned was that in 1893 the Free Church changed its creed and thereby forfeited its right to the property. In reply it was argued that the Scottish Church had all along claimed the right to change its creed and that a Church was not a mere trust but a body in which was inherent the power to revise the confession of its faith without thereby losing its property, provided always that such changes were carried out in the orderly way prescribed by the constitution. The Lords' decision necessitated Dr. Miller's presence in Scotland. Dr. Miller accordingly prepared and delivered, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and intended to deliver in other places, addresses explaining the true place and function of education in mission work, in other words, the philosophy of educational missions as illustrated in the history and influence of the College to which he had devoted his life. Exertions of this kind enfeebled him so much that when delivering one of his addresses in Glasgow he caught a strong cold and developed bronchitis and congestion of the lungs. He improved sufficiently to be able on the 17th January 1905 to appear before the Royal Commission appointed to make recommendations on the basis of equity and of workability of the House of Lords' decision, and to give evidence with reference to the Madras Christian College and the Madras United Free Church Mission. The Chairman, Lord Elgin, complimented Dr. Miller on the excellent and pointed statement he had prepared and suggested that to avoid fatigue he might put it into evidence as it stood. Dr. Miller, however, felt strong enough to make an additional statement and to answer some questions without being any the worse for the exertion. He gave a short account of the organisation of the College and pointed out that only the older portion of the College building with its site was the property of the Church and for this a rent had for many years been paid by the College. The Anderson Hall and the College Church with their sites were also the property of the Church, though much had been spent on them from other than Church funds. He went on to say, 'While it is claimed that the College continued to hold its property unaffected by the decision of the House of Lords; and while its relation with the bodies contributing to its support or otherwise interested require it to preserve the independence it has come to exercise in its administration, its power to fulfil the objects for which it exists would be seriously endangered by any change of its relation to the United Free Church of Scotland. Its success as a Christianizing agency, which is its chief end, requires a close and living connection with a large Church able (1) to continue the annual subsidy which is the main stay of its finance, (2) to supply from its youth a sufficiency of men of high training and Christian purpose, and (3) to carry on the oversight and maintain the interest in its welfare. There

is no likelihood of the Free Church of Scotland being able to undertake these responsibilities' 'To my mind,' said Dr. Miller in conclusion, 'it is quite unreasonable to suggest that the congregations and members constituting the legal Free Church of Scotland are able to take up the missionary and educational work of the Free Church in India. The work and the buildings are so completely the result of the personal gifts and labours of men who joined heartily in the recent Union that it appears to me to be inequitable that their property should be taken from them on a technicality, and that work of the greatest importance to the Empire of India as well as to Christianity should be interfered with.' The Commissioners in their report said:—'We had the advantage of having before us the Rev. Dr. Miller, Principal of the Madras Christian College with which he has been connected since 1863 and who has taken a distinguished part in the educational work of the Madras Presidency,' and added, 'We have no hesitation in referring to his evidence those who desire to see a description of a great educational institution,' and then proceeded to give some details about the constitution of the College. It may be safely presumed that the decision of the Commission that all Mission properties of the Free Church should be assigned to the United Free Church and that endowments made for the benefit of particular Missions should become the property of the United Free Church, was largely due to the representation of a missionary of the Church of Dr. Miller's record of long and valuable service.

Dr. Miller was able to attend the General Assembly in May and to deliver a short speech. He returned to Madras on the 14th October 1905, looking wonderfully well, and feeling strong enough with which he was welcomed back and to take part in the teaching work of the College and attend numerous social gatherings. He presided on the 10th November at the valedictory meeting of the Associated Societies at which the late Mr. V. Krishnasami Iyer spoke on Indian Student Life, ancient and modern. A function of a more sombre nature at which Dr. Miller assisted was the unveiling of the portrait of Mr. Kellett who died while on furlough in England in July 1904. In accepting the portrait Dr. Miller expressed the hope that the College might, in generations to come, have professors similar in character and influence to Mr. Kellett, and students as ready and open to appreciate whatever was good in character and high in impulse as those whose gift the portrait was. Dr. Miller discharged a similar duty in March 1906 in unveiling, and, on behalf of the college, accepting a portrait of Mr. Mackenzie who died in Madras on the 22nd August 1905 after six years of earnest service of a high order

The retirement of Mr. S. Rungiah Chettiar, Mathematics Professor and Superintendent of Vernacular Studies, after a service of thirty-five years was another event which reminded Dr. Miller strangely of the lapse of years. Mr. Rungiah had been introduced to him by Mr. Edmund Thompson whose student he was in the Presidency College as one who would in the coming years be a strength to the Madras Christian College. The prediction, said

Dr. Miller, was abundantly fulfilled. Dr. Miller's physical strength failed him in his attempt to give full expression to what was in his heart. He would therefore content himself with wishing the retiring professor long life and strength to continue to exert his influence for the benefit of the College.

An event which was nothing short of a calamity to the people of the Presidency was the failure of Arbuthnot and Co., which took place on the 22nd October 1906. This affected some of the minor funds held though not by the College yet for its benefit, namely, the Kellett Memorial Fund, the Raghava Chetty Memorial Fund and the College Day Fund including the Cooper Prize Fund. The funds of the College were not directly affected since its investments had always been with Messrs. Binny & Co., but this firm was affected by the panic caused by Arbuthnot's failure and a sudden rush of creditors upon it compelled it to suspend payment temporarily. The College authorities resolved not to add to the difficulties of the struggling firm; and Dr. Miller who had his own personal investments with the firm went a step further and convened a meeting of his fellow creditors and convinced them that since the assets of the firm overbalanced its liabilities all that was needed was a little patience on their part. It was due largely to his chivalrously putting himself forward at this juncture and using his influence with the public that the firm reconstituted as a limited company was able eventually to pay its creditors sixteen annas in the rupee.

Of all the losses caused by the financial crash none distressed Dr. Miller more than the loss of the College Day Fund, with the proceeds of which the expenses of each annual celebration were met. Four years before, he appealed to former students to make the College Day a regular and permanent institution, little thinking at the time of such a seeming set-back as it now received. Accordingly when called upon to reply to the toast of the College at the College Day celebration in December 1906, he made a powerful appeal to the nearly 3000 graduates and 20,000 non-graduates of the College who were in a position to put into the hands of the Committee enough money to resuscitate the Fund and to ensure that the College Day institution went down as a centre of light, thought and good feeling throughout the years and generations to come—a bond of fellowship based on a community of influences and motives between men of different classes and creeds and of different ages.

What made the appeal touching and effective were two circumstances to which Dr. Miller referred. One was the receipt of the news of the death of Principal Rainy, the venerable leader of the Church in Scotland, than whom the College had no heartier friend at home. The other reference was to his own blindness. Dr. Miller had been losing his eye-sight for some months past, but this was a secret between his physician and himself, and it was only when it became clear that the straining of the eyes in the ordinary course of business would injure them beyond repair that

Dr. Miller was ordered not to move about or to read. He had just then removed to College Park, then a building which was partially made fit for occupation. It was a pathetic sight to see the strong man—strong in will and spirit though not in body—so eager to work and make himself useful to the College but prevented from doing so. His interest in what was going on from day to day was as keen as ever, if not keener for enforced idleness. He would complain if nobody went to him to give the news of the day, and felt glad at the approach of anybody who could do this. Dr. Miller was not totally blind. I remember going to him one afternoon of a working day—my work at College was over in the fore-noon—and wanting to test his power of vision stood before him silent. He called me by my name, and when I asked him how he was able to make me out he said that he was able to do so by my height and general outline and my red turban, black coat and white cloth. He was busy planning all the same for the future well-being of the College, among other things the extension of College buildings, and a hostel for students in the College Park grounds somewhat on the cosmopolitan lines of the Mountain Home in Eachingadu, Yercaud. In the meantime it was thought that a timely operation such as could be performed only by experts in Europe would save at least one eye, and he was ordered home immediately. It is difficult to imagine the grief which this injunction caused to him. But there was no help for it. He left Madras on the 14th March, 1907 to embark at Bombay. I went to see him off at the railway station. I cannot forget how unwilling he was to leave Madras, the scene of his labours for forty-five years, Madras to which he came in his twenty-fourth year, and with what resignation he submitted to a decree which he felt was only partially human. As the engine whistled and the train began to move, leaning back in his seat near the carriage window he stretched out his hand to me, which I shook, feeling somewhat like old Bedivere standing on the shore when he saw Arthur bereft of his Excalibur escorted on the barge by the three queens of Faith, Hope and Charity.

Before leaving Madras he addressed a letter to present and former students of the College, in which he said 'This last message of mine to you before I leave, is to entreat you to endeavour and to pray that you may be faithful throughout life to all that you yourselves know to be good and true among the things which your College has tried to teach and among the impulses towards everything good and right which it has been its constant aim to awaken in your minds. I trust that your life-long sympathy and aid will help the College to maintain in future generations the position which it holds to-day, as I also trust that in coming years and generations the College will be a powerful and efficient witness to the great principles on which it has, from the first, been based. I need not tell you that these principles are to communicate in the best possible form such knowledge as may be useful in ordinary life and in doing this to mould aright the characters of its students and to lead them in that formation of their

characters to pay attention, most of all, to the great scheme for the guidance and uplifting of our race which forms the central line of all human history and finds its culmination in One whom I trust that most of you have come in some degree to admire and reverence, and whom I also trust that not a few of you are learning, or have learnt, to regard with feelings of sincere devotion.'

Though there was much improvement in his general health since going to Scotland, the medical experts in Europe and Britain were not able to do much by way of restoring his eye-sight. The disease they found had been allowed to go on unchecked too long while a timely operation at an earlier stage might have given him the use at least of one eye. One of the first things which Dr. Miller did on going home was to commend to the attention of former students the appeal which the College Council issued for contributions towards the extension of the College buildings, an appeal to which they responded heartily and substantially. It was impossible for him to remain listless. Distance made no difference in the liveliness of his contact with the College, with Madras and with India. Through correspondence which he conducted with the aid of an amanuensis and which was part of his regular occupation for the day, through newspapers which he had read to him and through persons from or interested in India, who happened to visit him at Burgo Park or at his lodgings in Edinburgh, he kept himself *en rapport* with affairs. Young men from India and especially from Madras including his Old Boys, who were studying in Edinburgh or elsewhere, were always welcome at his place. His evening parties for young Indian friends in Edinburgh were an attraction. In such ways did Dr. Miller keep alive and feed the flame of his affection for the sons of India. Nor was his interest in public affairs less keen. He was sensitive to all that was happening around him. During the war he suffered mentally as much as any citizen who had not gone to the scene of action. The moral and political issues involved weighed heavily upon his mind. During the war he cut short his domestic expenses because he could not bear to spend and to abound, when so many were starving and suffering. When I went to see him in Burgo Park in April 1920 two side-dishes were served at dinner, and Dr. Miller said that it was in honour of my visit, because during the War he had reduced his rations.

I can never forget the affectionate welcome he gave me then. When I wrote to him from London that I intended to visit him he wrote back immediately giving me minute directions as to the journey and sent his man to meet me on the road from Stirling railway station. When it was time that I should reach the house, he was standing at the door, all ears, and when he heard my foot-fall, 'Is that you Kandaswamy ?' he cried. 'Yes, Sir,' I replied, and ran up to meet him. The embrace he gave me with his stooped body, saying 'Is it not thirteen years now since we parted ? I did not think I should meet you again '—the memory of all this I shall cherish as a priceless privilege, the expression of a human love bordering on divine. I found him thirsty and hungry for news about Madras and especially about former

students. I had taken with me the printed list of those who had subscribed to the Skinner Presentation Fund and, reading out name after name, told him all that I knew about them. Each name was the starting-point in his mind of a chain of other names, somehow connected with it. He would ask me to recollect everything I knew and to give him all the news I could. One night, after dinner, I read to him the whole of the College Report for 1919, which had come by post that mid-day: he seemed to live in the College once again. The next morning I found that he was not strong enough to come to the table for breakfast. He had evidently lost his sleep, thinking of the College and the good old days. He arranged for my visiting Stirling Castle and the Wallace Monument and regretted that he could not go with me nor take me to the field of Bannockburn, as he so much wished to do. He could however move about freely in the house downstairs and upstairs, and he seemed to know every inch of ground in the garden, though the weather at the time being too cold, he could not come out.

He followed the trend of events in India steadily, the noble response of India to the call of duty during the war, the growth of unrest which he regarded as a sign of coming national manhood, not devoid of dangers but requiring to be guided rather than repressed, the development of the Reform Scheme, the working of the New Councils—the attempts to reform education and to reconstruct the Madras University—all these subjects were studied by him, as well as a man 7,000 miles away who could not himself read, could study them. The annual messages to former students, bodied forth not only his ripe wisdom on all these subjects, but also his affectionate interest in all that concerned the progress of the Indian people. Nothing human, said a Roman poet, was alien to him: with perfect truth could it be said of Dr. Miller, nothing Indian was alien to his soul. Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao, presiding at a congratulatory meeting in the Memorial Hall in 1885, said of Dr. Miller that 'though a European, he was one of ourselves.' No truer words were ever spoken in the way of compliment, words the full meaning of which the course of years only helped to unfold. I once went with a note of recommendation from Dr. Miller to Sir V. Bhashyam Aiyangar in connection with a case in which an Indian and a European were contending parties. The veteran lawyer on reading Dr. Miller's letter said readily that he would take up the case. When I asked him what his fee was, he said that he would receive none, since it was his duty to help a countryman of his when he saw Dr. Miller himself espousing his cause, in spite of the opposite party being of his own nationality. Dr. Miller had no race prejudice because he moved in a sphere of thought and feeling in which race distinctions appeared to him as intended to subserve and not to override the establishment of the kingdom of God among men. Dr. Miller felt keenly anything by way of insult to Indian people or to any section of them. When the London *Spectator*, writing on the Reform Scheme, used an offensive metaphor to describe educated Indians, he immediately wrote a

letter of protest from Burgo Park, in reply to which the Editor explained away his comparison. One outstanding feature of Dr. Miller's mind was freedom from prejudice of every kind. No man subjected himself to greater self-examination or sought more to purge himself of everything that could stand between him and his fellow-men or between him and his God. How could any one who sought to help in Christ's work of reconciling men to God have partialities and prejudices which cannot stand the test of Reason or of Love?

When I look back upon the past, I cannot help regarding Dr. Miller as a special gift of God to the South Indian people. His life and his teachings are full of suggestions and inspirations, the germination of which in the minds and lives of people through the agency of former students on whom Dr. Miller rested his hopes for the spread of the influence of the College, will give to national and social and religious life in Southern India a strength, a reality and a productiveness such as are not to be found at present. As for Dr. Miller himself, we cannot but think of him as a victorious prince—he was known in Pilrig Manse, the home of Dr. Macphail's father in Edinburgh as 'Prince'—the contraction of Principal—as a victorious prince who has gone from one of field of self-conquest and service to another and a higher.

Nor blame I Death, because he bare
The use of virtue out of earth;
I know transplanted worth
Will bloom to profit otherwhere.

Even on earth, it is impossible to think of him as dead. He lives in the lives of thousands of men who are now living their lives and playing their parts in Southern India; he lives in their lives, not merely as the cause lives in the effect or the germ in the tree, but as an animating presence—for Love is immortal—encouraging them when they are depressed, and directing them when they are perplexed. He has left a legacy of thought, feeling and purpose which it is hoped will gather strength and volume, as the years roll by. He has left behind him a College in which under God's guidance, will be generated from year to year intellectual and moral forces which are bound to shape the course of evolution in Southern India. The words which he spoke at the Memorial Meeting in the Christian College Hall on the occasion of the death of Lord Tennyson in 1892 may well be applied to him:

'There are few men, so far as it is legitimate to judge, who have more completely done the work that has been given them to do on earth. There are few workers in any field who seem to have more thoroughly attained the purpose of their lives, few who have given more complete expression to whatever of truth and beauty and goodness, God has meant them to express for the benefit of mankind. There are few in all the records of the past

whose influence has come nearer, so far as men can judge, to being developed into the full fruit of the original divine germ within them—few who have more nearly realized the ideal which it has been allotted to them by the eternal purpose to work upon this 'bank and shoal of time.' For these reasons and for many more, any lamentation over him who, in ripe old age, has passed away, would, so far as he is himself concerned, be wholly out of place.'

Hindu Thought and Christian Doctrine

By Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.

In a paper by Mr. Greaves on Hinduism contributed to the Oxford Conference,[1] it is said, 'Speaking broadly, Hindus are often about as far in advance of the Hinduism they profess as are nominal Christians behind the Christianity which they are supposed to obey.' This judgement is a generous one, so far as Hindu practice is concerned, though its implication that Hindu thought is unworthy of this practice is open to question. We are all too ready to condemn what we do not understand and those who judge Hinduism from without are not able to understand its vitality. The great things for which men have lived and died, and are still living and dying, cannot be grasped without the exercise of the spirit of what is well called 'natural piety'. If with this feeling we put ourselves at the point of view of the other religions, we shall see that the same fundamentals are found emphasized in all religions, that God is, that man stands in some relation to God, and that intercourse of some kind is possible between God and Man who has in him the desire to be in harmony with God. The differences among the living progressive religions of the world relate to accents and emphases, which are traceable to social environments and historic circumstances. It is a matter of great satisfaction, that, under the impulse of the higher criticism, the increasing knowledge of nature, idealist philosophy, comparative religion, the psychology of the religious consciousness and a deeper acquaintance with mystic experience, Christian thinkers are engaged in a re-construction of belief, that brings Christianity nearer the Hindu religion and promises to bridge the gulf that separates the Christian and the other religions. It is my endeavour in this paper to state briefly—a systematic discussion is not possible in a single article—some of the fundamentals of the Hindu faith so as to indicate its affinities to the Christian doctrine. By the fundmentals of Hinduism, I mean those common ideas which have characterised the different forms of Hinduism in their long history, regarding the problems of God, man and his future.

I

According to the Hindu view, the mystery of God cannot be comprehended by the mind of man. Many scriptural texts lay stress on the inadequacy of the finite mind to the subtlety of God's nature. There are endless attributes and aspects in the Supreme of which we, human beings, have no knowledge. No Hindu however rests content with this negative

[1] *Modern Churchman*, October 1922.

view. He insists on interpreting the nature of God on the analogy of his own personality, which is a complex of cognitions, affections and desires. He speaks of God as a personal being, *puruṣa*, with qualities of thought, love and power. All the time, he is conscious that God's personality is only a mask, the revelation of something higher under this form. God's personality is not the limited and exclusive one which the human is; for in God we live, move, and have our being.

Since God's personality is the unity of wisdom, love and goodness, His activities in relation to the world are those of creation, redemption and judgement. *Brahmā*, representing the cognitive aspect of God, creates; *Viṣṇu*, representing God as love, redeems; *Śiva*, who is God as omnipotent power and perfection, judges. The order of the universe reflects the mind of God. The transformation of the eternal ideas of God into the plane of space-time is a gradual one. All things struggle continuously to get rid of their imperfections that they might conform to their eternal archetypes, that is, realise God's purpose for them. The cosmic process is a continuous evolution where things develop new and higher qualities in conflict with the old ones. The conception of *Brahmā* brings out the infinitude of God and His unceasing creative activity. The aim of God's creation is the manifestation by His creatures of their divine origin and destiny. Of all objects of God's creation only man can manifest fully the character of his origin and reveal the truth of things. God, when He created man, presented to him the ideal which he should elect, the law which he should obey, if he is to realise his destiny. The *Bhagavadgītā* (III. 10) says, '*Brahmā* created man along with the law of sacrifice.' The law is the means by which we can realise God's ideal for us and grow into His likeness. But we forget our origin, forget our place in the plan of God, forget the law of sacrifice, and lose ourselves in selfish pursuits. It is then that the need for God's redemptive power arises. The All-great *Brahmā* is the All-loving *Viṣṇu* too. His love and grace are around us, behind what appears as space-time, the material world, organic life and human history. *Viṣṇu* the all-pervading, actively helps every human soul to fight against sin and stupidity. He is the central core of our being, serving as an inner light, which is too holy to consent to any evil, too real to cling to the fleeting and too loving to regard anything as alien to itself. He is God the redeemer and is the security that the world is progressing towards the good. But He does not act against our will. His redemptive activity takes place in accordance with the order created by *Brahmā*. God does not care to exalt Himself by condemning the laws of creation which His own fingers framed. Though *Viṣṇu* is ever ready to help us, our sin and stupidity constitute barriers against the operation of His grace. Even though we have sinned and thus betrayed the God in us, yet if we turn to God in faith, He helps us out of our difficulty. 'Even if the very wicked worship me, with devotion to none else, he should be regarded as good, for he has rightly resolved. Soon does he become righteous and attain to eternal peace. Boldly canst thou proclaim that my devotee is never

destroyed,' says *Kṛṣṇa* in the *Gītā.*[1] There is thus a chance for even the worst sinner. God is not merely truth and love, but also justice. He is the embodiment of power and perfection, the judge of good and evil, the lord of karma, *karmādhyakṣaḥ.* When we sin, it is *Śiva* the judge, who punishes us.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and *Śiva* are not three different persons but three different aspects of one God, who has no second, distinguished according to His different functions. *Brahmā* creates us with certain potentialities, *Viṣṇu* helps us to realise them through the overcoming of opposition and *Śiva* signifies the victorious self-maintenance of the good. As the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* puts it, 'the source from which all things come, that by which they are sustained and that into which they enter' are one. God is the truth, the way and the life. He is one viewed as threefold, *eka eva tridhā smṛtaḥ.* Creation, redemption and judgement are the three fundamental aspects of the creative evolution.

When we regard the Supreme as Divine self-consciousness functioning in the three ways of creation, redemption and judgement, it follows that the world, with reference to which these functions have a meaning, is organically related with God. The world is the body of God, according to some *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and theistic *Vedantā.* Hindu thought is not afraid of asserting the presence of God in all things. It has no faith in a transcendent God distinct from the world, living in a monotonous solitude of His own. *Kṛṣṇa* says in the *Gītā*, that all the beauty of the world, all its truth, all its goodness are so many modes in which God is manifested, of whose glory nature is the veil, of whose word it is the expression, of whose thought it is the embodiment. This, however, is not pantheism in the crude sense of the term. Distinctions are made between the ideal and the actual, the good and its opposite. Hinduism insists on the need for self-transcendence on the part of man. This means that there is something beyond what actually is, that man is struggling to realise. The necessity for redemption shows that there are elements from which we are to be redeemed. If all that is, is equally divine, there would be no need for redemption or judgement. God is not only in nature as its life but is beyond it, as its Creator, its Lord and its Judge. Hinduism does not subscribe to the Hegelian identification of the process of the world with the life of the Absolute. The world is rooted in God, but God does not die if the world perishes. In His own being He is independent of the world and above it. His spirit moves in the world, informing it, governing it, and yet it is by itself beyond it all.

That the water of a stream is purer at its source is certainly true of the religion of Christianity. If we turn to the life and sayings of Jesus, we get a clear idea of the central principles of Christianity. Yahweh of the Old Testament was essentially a national deity. Though some prophets like Hosea and Isaiah regarded Him as the God of the whole earth, they did not

[1] IX. 30-31.

altogether escape from their provincial views. Even for them Israel remained God's chosen race and the heathen nations who would submit to His authority and come to worship at Zion would occupy a position of subjection. Jesus purged the idea of God of all particularism. He was not much interested in God as He is in Himself but revealed to us with remarkable insight the nature of God in relation to man and the world. Though Jesus referred to the three aspects of wisdom, love and power, the then conditions led him to emphasise the love of God. Even the better class of Jewish prophets exaggerated the aspect of God's judgement and His wrath. Isaiah says: 'Men shall go into the caves of the rocks, and into the holes of the earth from before the terror of the Lord, and from the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake mightily the earth' and Jesus laid stress on the conception of God as Father and His love for us as His children. God is preeminently love. He is our redeemer, but the other aspects were not neglected by Jesus. The orderliness of the world reveals the wisdom of God. The sun shines impartially on the just and the unjust, and so does the rain fall. Special providences are not accepted by Jesus[1] who rebukes the petty egotism which imagines that the natural order of the universe is interrupted to inflict exemplary punishments on evil doers or bring rich rewards to individuals of exceptional merit. He refused to succumb to the temptation to make stones into bread. The physical cures which He effected were all according to law and He could not heal where faith was lacking. God is unalterable truth, and His universe cannot be an anarchic one. God is also the judge. The judgement of God is the dominating note of the Bible. From the sentence upon Adam and Eve and the condemnation of Cain, down to the closing vision of St. John's Apocalypse, we have stress on the sovereignty and judgement of God. At the end of the day, it is God's purpose that will triumph. The Christian Church, in the spirit of the Hebrew prophets appeals more to the terror of judgement and the wrath of God than to the sense of guilt and the grace of God.

When the followers of Jesus raised Jesus to the rank of God, the three aspects of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*, infinitude, grace and sovereignty, wisdom, love and power were attributed to Him. He is Logos or Wisdom or Word of God, who was before Abraham was. He is the Saviour who revealed His heart of love on the cross at Calvary. He is the judge who pronounces sentence on all who offend Him. 'He that cometh after me,' says John the Baptist, 'will gather up His wheat into the garner but the chaff He will burn up with unquenchable fire.' He will 'separate the sheep from the goats.'[2]

The doctrine of the Trinity not only sought to provide a place for Jesus in the unity of God but also tried to correct the onesided view of God adopted in the Old Testament. God is not merely the infinite majesty seated on high (the Father), but is also the heart of love (the Son), and the immanent

[1] Luke xiii. 1–5.

[2] Matthew xxv. 31–46.

principle of the world process (the Holy Spirit). God is not the transcendent, remote from the world, but Infinite love who pours Himself out unwearyingly into the uplift of the world. Abelard and, in a manner, Aquinas support the view of the Father as power, the old Yahweh exercising judgement (*Śiva*), the Son as the Logos, Word or Wisdom, the principle of creation (*Brahmā*), and the Holy Spirit as pervading love (*Viṣṇu*). On this view, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit correspond to the Vedantic formula of *Brahman* as *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ānanda*, reality, wisdom and joy. One thing is clear, that the doctrine of the Trinity is an attempt to indicate the threefold nature of God. Modern Christian theology is realising that the unity of God is consistent with His three aspects, only if the latter are regarded as modes of His activity and not as three different minds or centres of consciousness.

It is frequently urged that the Hindu view exaggerates the justice of God while the Christian lays more stress on the love of God. This is however not altogether just. There is not much real difference on this question, between the two views. *Viṣṇu*, or God as love, is ready to help us but He waits for our effort. He does not offer His aid against our will. He cannot save us even when we sin, unless we repent. God will do everything for us, but if we persist in our sin and selfishness and do not turn to Him, law will have its course. God cannot deny Himself. He would like to forgive all, but there are sins which 'shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in that which is to come.' Even the love of God has a method according to which it works. We cannot say that this constitutes a limitation of His power. Omnipotence is not irrationality. Jesus recognises that there are laws of the spiritual world. The parables of the tares, the thief, the hidden treasure, the pearl, the lost[1] sheep, the talents, the ten virgins and the wedding garment, all imply the law that we shall be saved only by our deeds. The five foolish virgins failed to use their opportunities and so missed their end. It we expect forgiveness, we must forgive; if we would save our lives, we must lose them. Such are the inexorable laws of the spiritual world which even God's love cannot set aside. Salvation is to be earned; God cannot thrust it on us. The implication of the curious doctrine of vicarious sacrifice is that the love of God is tempered by His justice. It assumes that divine justice must be satisfied before God can forgive.

Western Christianity is a product of several influences. Its Jewish heritage which conflicts with the Greek, inclines it to support the transcendent conception of God. For the Jew as well as the Arab, nature seemed dry and barren; to the Greek as to the Hindu it was alive and divine. The latter did not exaggerate the distinction between the sacred and the profane, the supernatural and the natural, the spirit and the flesh. Their general conception is confirmed by the spirit of science with its insistence on the essential unity of nature. The all-pervading supremacy of law keeps

[1] Matthew xiii. 24–30; xxiv. 43; xiii. 44; xiii. 45–46; xviii. 12; xxv. 14–30; xxv. 1–13; xxii. 1–14.

the lawless at arm's length. The supernatural is at the heart of nature. As Aristotle said, spirit is the form of matter. God is the life of the world. The growing appreciation of the meaning of history and the principle of development, the fresh psychological analyses of the religious consciousness and its growth incline us to see the divine in the normal and not in deviations from it. The view of God, as one who acts upon the world externally, moulding it as a potter does clay, which has had a continuous history in Christendom from Jesus—even He was fettered much by His religious surroundings—through Paul, Augustine, Luther, Calvin etc., is slowly yielding to a more immanent conception. A whole-hearted acceptance of Divine immanence will involve much doctrinal re-adjustment and many of the sacred sentiments which have twined themselves round the old idea will have to be given up. We cannot accept Divine immanence and yet be conventionally orthodox, clinging to the reality of miracles, chosen people, exclusive mediatorship, unique revelations, salvation by grace rather than by development, and damnation at death for the large majority of the human race. Christian theologians are accepting the view of imnanence with different degrees of completeness. Though Jesus was much hampered by his Jewish heritage, He yet had a fine faith in God as the indwelling presence in the world 'The kingdom of God is within you.' With the Hindu, Jesus believes that the changes of the world are not the results of an occasional interference of God from outside, but are a regular divine progress. The central lesson of the life of Jesus to the Hindu is the undermining of the false antithesis between man and God. Jesus is the example of a man who has become God and none can say where his manhood ends and divinity begins. Man and God are akin. 'That art Thou.' *Tat tvam asi.*

II

The doctrine of the immanence of God in life and history is inconsistent with the theory of unique revelations at particular epochs. Hinduism prefers to think of God's activity as immanent in the whole spiritual development of the race. It yet tickets off some prominent aspects of this continuous development, as indicating in a more striking manner the presence of God. Though divine life permeates, subdues and controls all life on earth, still, the stages, when the higher forms were evolved, when the better types were perfected, reveal more prominently the working of the immanent spirit. These stages are marked by the appearance of the subhuman *avatārs.* When man appears on the scene, the problem of morality arises and the continuous redemptive activity of God becomes more manifest when the moral order is sharply disturbed. The restoration of the moral equilibrium demands the appearance of some who embody greater goodness than usual.[1] These souls who support unflinchingly the cause of God, that is, goodness,

[1] See the *Bhagavadgīta*, iv. 7-8; see also Professor Hogg's *Redemption from the World.*

reveal more than ordinary beings, the eternal within the temporal, the grain within the husk. These manifestations of spiritual values may be viewed either as the revelation of God or the realisation of the potentialities of man, since these two are different ways of stating one fact. We call them fresh revelations of the depths of God or decisive developments of the possibilities of man. Naturally, the pious view them as deliberate acts of God adopted in divine wisdom to serve His purpose. But the higher thought of India is emphatically of opinion, that God is ever active and love is His very essence and not a mere accidental aberration.

While all men reproduce or incarnate to some extent the nature of God, His truth, love and power, those who are called *avatārs* do so in a more striking way and to a greater degree. This is the case with *Rāma*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Buddha*. Jesus is an *avatār* since His love for the sinful which came out most markedly in His appeal on the Cross, 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do,' is of a piece with God's love for His children. But that He had a special relation to God, which it is not possible for others to acquire is a proposition which it is very difficult to defend. Nor is there any authentic evidence of it, I venture to submit, in the synoptic Gospels. Stories, of course, there are, as about many others in the pre-Christian and the post-Christian eras, but on such a question they count for little. The Adoptionist Christology and the Pre-existence theory involve an untenable antithesis between God and man, which is reminiscent of Jewish dualism. The life of Jesus will have no meaning for us, if He had any non-human elements which enabled Him to reach perfection. Faith in the Fatherhood of God compels us to assume that what was possible for Jesus is also possible for other men. The resources of God which were available to Him are open to us, and if we struggle and strive even as He did, we *will* develop the God in us. We are all partakers of God's nature and can incarnate God's love even as Jesus did, if we acquire Jesus' faith in God. At best, Jesus is 'the first born among many brethren.'[1] The incarnation of God in Jesus is essentially one with the indwelling of God in the other saints of the world. The divine relationship revealed by Him is potentially present in all of us. It is a pious delusion to think that none else than Jesus attained this consciousness of spiritual oneness with God. The history of Hinduism gives several instances of souls who were saved, who had the experience of the oneness of 'I and my Father,' who saw with the eye of the soul the glory of God as it is in its own nature, not merely as momentary gleams breaking though the darkness of the sense world, and enjoyed Him for ever. The nearer we approach to God, the greater is the community of nature between man and God and he who lives in God, not intermittently but constantly can say, 'I am He.' The testimony of the *Ṛṣis* of the *Upaniṣads* is confirmed by Jesus and other religious geniuses of the world. Let us hear the Sufi martyr, Al Hallaj: 'I am the Truth; I am

[1] Romans viii. 92.

He whom I love; and He whom I love is I. We are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him, and when thou seest Him, thou seest me.' In that condition of at-one-ment, there is no opposition between the human soul and the divine. According to Jami: "'I' and 'Thou' have here no place, and are but phantasies vain and unreal."[1]

In our loyalty and devotion to Jesus, we may say that the revelation of God in Jesus is a perfect and complete one and His personality is unapproached in all history. The light of God, it is admitted sometimes with great reluctance, shone clearly no doubt, in some prophetic souls, but it never blazed forth in such unique splendour as in Jesus. All this may be true, but we cannot legitimately object, if the followers, say of Confucius and of Buddha, set up similar claims for their heroes. If it is argued that spiritual experience on a vast scale confirms the divinity and mediatorships of Jesus, similar experience is not wanting for the other great saviours of humanity. Hinduism believes that every *guru* is a saviour inasmuch as he quickens in his disciples the life of God, and develops the seed of the spirit, capable of fructifying in them. Any one who helps us to a complete harmonisation of the finite will of man with the perfect will of God has the power to save us. In some systems like that of the *Śaiva Śiddhānta,* the *guru* is said to be the very god who appears out of the fulness of His grace to help man in the upward ascent. It cannot be contended that it is impossible to reach heaven unless it be through the mediatorship of Jesus. It is even admitted that Abraham got there, centuries before Jesus was born.[2]

It is not easy to follow such a proposition as that all ideal qualities of perfect manhood for all time and all conditions were included in Jesus and His revelation is final and all inclusive. There is no finality with regard to any revelation on earth. God has never said His last word on any subject. He has always more things to tell us than we now can bear.[3]

A more critical attitude towards the divinity of Jesus is growing among the Christian theologians of the west, who are tending to emphasize more and more the humanity of Jesus. The claims to omniscience and the consciousness of having created the universe are not seriously pressed. On the other hand, more attention is paid to the statements that He 'grew in wisdom,' 'learned obedience by the things which He suffered,' was made 'perfect through sufferings,' and 'hath been in all points tempted as we are.' The travail of the spirit in the wilderness makes Him our brother. He, like us, felt in the presence of the great God that lowly reverence and humility which made Him say, 'Why callest thou me good. There is none good but One, that is, God.' 'My Father is greater than I.'[4] Miracles are not adduced as evidence of His divinity. Science is critical of many of them. Psychotherapy is able to explain a few. Jesus Himself never deigned to perform miracles to prove His divinity. On the other hand, He admits that

1 Browne: *Literary History of Persia*, I. p. 439.
2 Luke xvi. 24.
3 John xvi. 12.
4 Mark. x. 18; John. xiv. 28.

others also are able to do them. 'If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?'[1] Jesus' own testimony, philosophical truth, and religious experience alike demand that Jesus should be brought into line with the other great saints of God, who has not left Himself without a witness in any clime or age.

III.

Man is made in the image of god and so is not naturally depraved. As we now find him, he is, no doubt, handicapped in several ways. These defects are foreign to his true nature and are the result of his abuse of freedom. The Hebrew story

'Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world and all our woe'

endorses the Hindu view that sorrow and suffering, consequent on sin and stupidity, are produced by man, though God allowed them when He gave us freedom. God, as we saw, does not deal with us as a potter with clay but gave us full freedom to realise our destiny, but man loved his false self and not his true self and source, God, and thus evil arose. Our sinfulness however does not destroy the immortal glory that is our heritage though it postpones its arrival.

The doctrine of the natural depravity of man I fear, cannot be sustained. The divine is our nature. The light of God lighteth every man who cometh into the world. 'Thou wouldst not be seeking me if thou didst not possess me.' Goethe says:

'Were not the eye itself a Sun
No Sun for it could ever shine,
By nothing Godlike could the heart be won
Were not the heart itself divine.'

On this view, conversion is not the birth of anything new, though it is the sudden reversal of the former course of life. Salvation is more a gradual development of the divine in us than a gift due to the grace of God. Modern psychological analysis of the act of redemption informs us that God acts in the development of the individual soul more from within than from without. Grace and development are two aspects of one process though the former suggests something like a spiritual miracle or crisis and the latter implies the continuity of man and God.

The course of discipline which the individual is called upon to undergo, if he is to realise his divine inheritance may be distinguished into three types, answering to the three aspects of conscious life. In the period of the

[1] Luke xi. 19.

Upaniṣads, God was regarded primarily as Eternal Truth or Light and the individual was asked to comprehend the nature of God by *śraddhā* or faith and *jñāna* or wisdom. When we pass to the *Bhagavadgītā*, it is the aspect of God as love that becomes more prominent and *bhakti* or devotion to God becomes the chief means of salvation. With the Buddhists and the *Śaivites*, as with the ancient Hebrews, God is Eternal Righteousness and *tapas* or austere simplicity of life and self-sacrifice become emphasized. Any one of these three methods *jñāna, bhakti* or *tapas* has the power to transform our life as a whole.

When we undergo this inward renewal of mind, heart and will, when we give up our self-regarding life, we find one which beats in unison with the impersonal and the universal good. This is to be saved. The secret of salvation is not a change of creed but an inward renewal. The kingdom of God is an attitude of the soul. Salvation is a qualitative change which fills the life of man with the spirit of God. What the exact nature of it is, cannot be translated into our terms, coined as they are in the mint of human experience. The glory that shall be, we cannot know fully. If we insist on interpreting the nature of eternal life in the language of logic and time, we have to say that it is an identification of the will of the soul with that of God, or more concretely, it is citizenship in the kingdom of God or *Brahmaloka*, from which there is, no possibility of degradation into the world of *saṁsāra*. *Śaṁkara* declares the impossibility of characterising the supreme experience of oneness with God and allows, if any logical description is demanded, that it is best to say that that life is dwelling in the city of God. *Ramānuja*, however, believes that nothing higher is conceivable or real.

The ascended Christ says: 'I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God and he shall go no more out.'[1] The expression that '*he shall go no more out*' has a family likeness to the Hindu view that the saved soul does not return to the struggle of *saṁsāra*. *Na punarāvrittih*. Both the Hindu and the Christian views agree with regard to the features of the free souls. Wisdom, love and joy are the fruits of salvation, The saved soul has that perfect confidence in the goodness of things that he is not tossed about by the winds of doctrine and dogma. He has that true love or inward brotherliness. It is not mere refraining from injury or forgiveness of enemies, but positive service of humanity. No great religious leader has failed to pay his homage to the principle of love. *Ahiṁsā* is a central feature of the ethics of the *Upaniṣads*. Buddha asks us to do good to them that hate us. In the Book of Exodus, we read, 'If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him.' The forty-fifth chapter of Genesis gives us an idea of the admiration which the ancients had for a magnanimous man. See the superb scene in which Joseph forgives his brethren. Paul quotes from the Book of Proverbs, when

[1] Revelation iii. 12.

he writes to the Romans 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink.' Of Jesus, it is said, 'Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, when he suffered, threatened not.'[1] The saved soul has not only wisdom and love but also that real joy which is not at the mercy of men and circumstances, the peace or *śānti* of which the Hindus speak. It is the joy to which Jesus referred when he said: 'My joy I give unto you, and your joy no man taketh from you.'

Apparently there is not very much serious difference between Hinduism and Christianity on the question of the nature and means of salvation, if we do not take into account the doctrine of Atonement, that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.' That Jesus helps us to turn away from sin and towards God, as every saint, in some degree, does, is beyond question. But the sacrifice of Christ has no significance for man as a propitiation for sin. Jesus is our Saviour since He gives us evidence in His life of the love of God, which will bear us in all crises and catastrophes. He gives us assurance that it is possible for us to conquer the world, the flesh and the devil and attain perfection. Ritschl rightly contends, 'All that we can recognise as the real truth of His existence, is that through the impulse and direction we receive from Him, it is possible for us to enter into His relation to God and the world.[2]

IV

The doctrines of *karma* and re-birth which distinguish the faith of the Hindus, do not evidently commend themselves to the majority of Christian thinkers, who, I am afraid, are mostly misled by misrepresentations. *Mokṣa* or at-one-ment with God is not possible as long as the individual clings to his separate narrow individuality. Until all traces of this separatist tendency are suppressed, union with the Supreme cannot be realised. We are committed to the world of *saṁsāra*, the endless cycle of lives, until we conquer time and reach perfection. This view is not so fantastic as it is generally said to be. If life eternal (*mokṣa*) means a state which transcends temporal conditions (*saṁsāra*), then so long as we cling to the latter, time, the former, eternity, cannot be attained. Unless we drop the individual point of view and raise ourselves to the universal, we cannot lay hold on the truth. All our efforts to reach the universal standpoint, while retaining the individual, are doomed to disappointment. Moral growth is of this character. It has for its basis the exclusive individual with separate plans, purposes and preferences, confronted by others with similar interests. Through moral effort, the individual can approximate to the goal but never reach it. *Saṁsāra* is the world of individualistic moralism which has for its principle perpetual progress or endless growth and not effective realisation or complete fruition. Kant's ethics gives us an instructive analogy. The imperative of the moral

[1] 1 Peter ii. 23. [2] *Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 387.

law demands a total suppression of the sensitive part of man's nature. This end is not realised in our present experience, and so he offers us an infinite future to realise it, but Kant forgets that infinite time is inadequate for an impossible task. *Finite* agents cannot achieve *infinite* perfection, even if they groan and travail to the end of time. Kant prescribes a self-contradictory task. The way out is to knock down the sense of the finite. Only then can we be saved from the unending progress of the finite which yields no satisfaction. Unless we abandon the standpoint of *saṁsāra* by cutting through the chain and lift ourselves up above sensitivity, above space-time, above individuality, there is no release possible. Life eternal can be lived here, and now if only we discard the separatist viewpoint of mere moralism and rise to the religious level.

In the world of *saṁsāra*, the law of *karma* holds. It is the principle of moral continuity by which all steps on the upward path which we gain through toil and suffering are secured for us, and the character we build conserved, so that we need not re-traverse old steps but always look upwards and onwards. According to the doctrine of *karma*, every man will have chances opened to him until he realises the destiny for which he is intended. If God is love, none can be lost for ever. The redemptive work of God does not cease, until the purpose of God is fulfilled with regard to every being. The sin of man hides but does not destroy his immortal destiny. God's love would not allow even the worst sinner to slip away from Him completely. If death were the end, God's purpose in creating us would be frustrated; for most of us die unrepentant and in sin. If we do not admit the defeat of God's purpose, which would be a very serious limitation of God's nature, then there must be scope for growth, after death, for all souls, to develop and manifest the God in them. This view seems to be much more consistent with the justice and love of God than the one prevailing in Christendom, which has adopted a hell for the large majority of mankind. A deeper realization of the truth of God as love will lead Christian thinkers to admit development after death.

If God destroys his delinquent children, then we are attributing to God a very primitive instinct which even civilised men have sublimated. If Jesus took little children on His knees and told His hearers that the only way of pleasing God was to become themselves like little children, it is atrocious for us to thrust these citizens of the kingdom of heaven into the fire of hell.

According to St. Paul, 'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together . . . waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God.' If any souls are doomed for ever without a chance of manifesting themselves as sons of God, then God's ideal consummation for the world has broken down. The doctrine of divine immanence requires us to believe that no man deserves to be thrown into eternal hell. However far he may go astray, he is not a lost soul. None can shake off the divinity in him, however much he may hide it by his sin, stupidity and selfishness. The unsupported finite, the

individual who is not rooted in the eternal, in other words, the man who is not made by God is the only rubbish fit to be cast into hell-fire, but not he who bears the human face divine. He may sin grossly in this life but his immortal destiny cannot be destroyed. Beneath the horrible mask of a Judas, there is the potentially divine face of a Jesus. St. Paul says: 'A veil lieth upon their heart. But whensoever a man shall turn unto the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.' Mark the words '*whensoever a man shall turn unto the Lord*,' that is, at any time in the history of the individual, in this world or in the world to come, if he repents he has a chance. To the Hindu, the case of Dives seems to be the height of tragedy.[1] In a repentant mood, he begs for a small favour, and that not for himself, and no God cares to listen to his prayer. For there is no escape possible for a soul tormenting in hell. Once dead, the fate of man seems to be settled eternally. Assuming that God is not love but stern justice with fierce indignation against wrong, the treatment of Dives is not even just. Errors unrepented of in this life cannot be punished through all the ages. But even the Old Testament gets over the conception of God as mere justice. Some of the prophets and Psalmists had a more adequate view. 'The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy.'[2] With such a God who is ready to forgive and welcome back the sinner, Dives has a chance. 'How much more' has he with Jesus' God who is not only the Father who waits at home to receive the prodigal, but also the Shepherd who searches in the mountains for the lost sheep? If God goes out to seek the sinner and bring him back, the repentance of Dives will be a matter of rejoicing to Him. If God is unimaginably good 'exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think,' is this hope of a future, where souls like Dives could develop in their new mood, too good to be true? 'If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven, give good things to those that ask Him!'[3] If we never can forgive as much as we have been forgiven, then is it right to think that God will not refrain from vengeance? God's illimitable love is the guarantee that there is a boundless future opening before us.

Except for the proposition that God is not the God of the dead but of the living, Jesus did not give any definite account of the future life. His references to it in the parables of the Sheep and the Goats, Dives and Lazarus are coloured by the beliefs of the age in heaven and hell, as geographical areas, full of blessedness and misery, and they are not relevant to the problem. Jesus evidently did not believe in a long interval between death and judgement for the rich glutton and Lazarus had their punishment and reward almost immediately after death. Jesus was not misleading the repentant thief when He said, '*To-day* shalt thou be with me in paradise'[4] The official view that the dead will rise with their physical bodies for judgement

[1] Luke xvi. 19-31. [2] Psalms ciii. 8. [3] Matthew vii. 11

[4] Luke xxiii. 1 43.

after death is not supported by these statements of Jesus. On the orthodox view, it is difficult to know how it fares with the countless dead, in the interval between death and judgement. The only interpretation of heaven and hell consistent with the teaching and character of Jesus is that they refer to qualitative changes in the souls. Heaven symbolises the improvement of the soul and hell its opposite. And there are grades in hell, as well as in heaven, many mansions in God's Kingdom and each man will go to his place in accordance with the strength of his faith and the merit of his life. This is the way in which God's justice operates, as the law of *karma* tells us. As a man uses his chance, so will his progress be and the kind and extent of his use will determine his grade of development. That Jesus had a clear consciousness of the law of spiritual continuity comes out in many of his utterances. He is aware that men shall give account for every idle word which they speak on the day of judgement. All our nameless acts of tenderness and love—'I was an hungered and ye gave me meat'—are quite effective in their results. As the Bhagavadgītā says, 'even a little good saves us from great fear' (II. 40).

This view is in accord with the known facts of the development of human personality. The advance in holiness or perfection is a gradual moral process which cannot be achieved instantaneously. In normal circumstances self-development is a continuous process, with no conceivable limits. Growth is the law of personality and for it, both time and opportunity are necessary. The law of *karma* opens up a vast vista where there will be ample scope for self-development.

This principle rightly insists that our conduct as a whole determines our future. A single incident like baptism does not decide the fate of the individual. The infant which dies soon after baptism and the one without it, will both have practically the same future careers, other things remaining equal. Jesus would certainly be shocked to hear, that, according to his message of love, the penalty for error of belief, or accident of birth in another religion or the misfortune of missing some magical sacrament is continuous burning in hell-fire. It is spiritual growth that a man has made or failed to make that determines his future destiny.

The law of *karma* is criticised as being too mechanical and inconsistent with Divine love. The conception of God as an unfettered despot, who interferes whenever it pleases Him to make certain people sinful and others saintly, is repugnant to Hindu thought. To argue that God's love is not bound by the law of character is to support the Calvinistic theology of arbitrary and irrational decrees, according to which the elect shall be saved, do what they will, and the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. It is impossible for God to ignore the conduct of men, though His love is so infinite that it supports all who make a start in the right direction. The necessities of the spiritual world demand that repentance should be followed by the forgiveness of sins and that utter self-surrender shall be followed by the grace of God. The moral law is the very being of God and it demands

that the experiences to which we shall be subjected shall vary with the moral quality of our deeds. The constancy of God is not opposed to the love of God. The theory of divine immanence tells us that God's judgement does not come from anything external. It works from within. We raise or degrade ourselves by our acts. There is no escape from the law of God, which is closer to us than hands and feet, and is in fact the essence of us all. The law of *karma* tells us that those who violate God's laws must suffer for their violation, though there is possibility of repentance and improvement at every stage.

Those who argue that the Hindu doctrine of *karma* is mechanical because the absoluteness of the law demands that the full debt must be paid, uphold, rather strangely, a worse proposition that it must be paid, somehow, by somebody, if not by the sinner. That one man should suffer for another's sins is intelligible, whatever be its validity. But does not the situation become paradoxical, if not grotesque, when the sinner complacently accepts that another should suffer for his sin? The view deludes the unthinking into the false notion that they might continue their careers of crime, for God would some day send some angel or Son of His to bear the sin of the world. The way in which orthodox Christian doctrine regards the suffering and death of Jesus, the guiltless victim, is conceivable only if God were a well-made weighing machine. I believe that it is intended to indicate the truth of the Hindu view that love of God and effort on the part of man are both necessary for moral growth.

It is well known that the theory of *karma* is set forth as an explanation for human inequality. Experience shows that all men are not equally favoured in inward disposition or outward circumstances. Heredity and environment contribute materially to the shaping of human souls. If we believe, as Calvin assuredly did, that the world is governed by a loving and intelligent being, we must admit that the diversities of life are not due to accident. Thus far the Hindu can follow the argument; but when Calvin suggests as a solution the theory of election, that the capricious will of God is responsible for the choice of some for salvation and others for perdition, the Hindu hesitates to follow his lead and asks whether there is not a more reasonable alternative. There is no need to adopt such a mechanical view of the relation of God to man. The law of *karma* traces this diversity of endowment to the ordered will of God. The Hindu is not prepared to introduce into the nature of God an element of utter irrationality. He believes that one increasing purpose manifests itself in the evolution of the universe, and if some become more readily the channels of divine grace than others, it is because they struggled a good deal to earn it in the past. 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap,' says St. Paul. The law of *karma* accepts this principle and extends it further and says, 'Whatsoever a man reaps, that he must have sown.' Jesus, to my mind, understood this further implication. When he told the paralytic, 'Courage, my son, your sins are forgiven,' he meant to convey that his suffering was the result of his past

sins. The sinner may have forgotten them, but not God. The effects of his sins were lying in the depths of his personality. As modern psychology would say, our past deeds are stored up in the region of the unconscious. Jesus assumes something like the law of *karma*, when he tells the sick man 'Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.' (St. John v. 14.) Suffering is not the arbitrary fiat of a judge who inflicts it on us, though we do not deserve it. Suffering forced on us against our will is the wages of sin. We cannot esteem it a privilege and an honour. In that case, those suffering in hell have no reason to be ashamed of themselves. Jesus recognised the value of suffering as a warning against evil and an incentive to good. All this does not apply to suffering voluntarily undertaken. Suffering is for purification until we realise life eternal. When we are perfected we become sharers in the work of God, which is the creation and maintenance of absolute values. Thereafter, all 'suffering' is self-imposed though it is quite distinct in its character from ordinary suffering. *Śiva* drank poison for the redemption of mankind. Buddha, according to the *Mahāyāna* faith refused to attain *nirvāṇa* for the sake of man. In addition to (1) suffering inflicted on mortals as a punishment for their past sins and (2) 'suffering' seemingly so, undertaken by the free souls of the world, there is a third variety which is called *tapas* in Hindu thought. *Tapas* is the suffering voluntarily undertaken by those who are still on the path way to perfection, for the sake of self-development or world welfare. This is a very difficult undertaking and some of the greatest souls of the world have quailed before it. Witness the scene at Gethsemane. To realise our destiny, the most efficient method is this suffering for the world. *Śiva* the prince of ascetics, or God as Righteousness, expects of His devotees austere asceticism and self-sacrifice, even as *Brahmā* demands meditation and *Viṣṇu*, devotion. Suffering for the world out of love for it is the price which every son of man has to pay, if he is to be redeemed from evil and manifest himself as a son of God. The Cross is not an offence or a stumbling block to the Hindu, but is the great symbol of the redemptive reality of God. It shows how love is rooted in self-sacrifice. The story of Hinduism has many instances of *Ṛṣis* and *Buddhas* who have sanctified *tapas* and suffered more than they deserved for the sake of the world. This avoidable suffering is not the result of past sins.

Christian thinkers have felt for long uneasy about the doctrine of perpetual torment and devised various schemes which would allow scope for future development. The Council of Florence in 1429 formulated the doctrine of purgatory which is neither hell nor heaven. Dean Farrar suggested an intermediate state of probation in which souls would have an opportunity for repentance. Some theologians take their stand on the vague statements of Peter iii. 19 ; iv. 6, and argue for an intermediate state between death and judgement. While many plead for continuity between this life and the next, only very few are willing to advocate pre-existence. In course of time, however, western thinkers will be led to discern the

elements of value in the Hindu view, which is to-day confused with a good deal of grotesque mythology which no thinking Hindu accepts as literal truth.

V

Indian Christians who breathe the same spiritual air laden with the fragrance of India's past, as their Hindu brethren are deeply imbued with the doctrine of divine immanence. It is becoming increasingly difficult for them to accept the apocalyptic view of the sternness of God and His supernaturalism which threatens disobedience of God's will with tremendously terrific judgements, which looks upon Jesus as the very God of God sent to the world to be crucified as an atonement for the sins of mankind, and contemplates the renewal on a vast scale of the miracle of the resurrection, the coming of Christ in glory on a world which has rejected Him. The thoughtful, especially among the younger generation of Indian Christians, believe that God works in all men and in the whole world, though Jesus so perfected His nature that He manifested the God in Him in a more marked degree than other men. They, of course, think that the life of Jesus which brought out the aspect of redeeming love in the nature of God which was practically ignored by the Old Testament writers, though some of their great prophets like Isaiah were not unaware of it, has the highest ethical significance for us in the present condition of the world. They confidently anticipate the coming of the kingdom of God by the gradual growth of goodness and spread of Christian love though not doctrine. They are deeply concerned when such vital doctrines of Hinduism as the unity and omnipenetrativeness of God, *ahiṁsā*, *karma*, and re-birth are misrepresented and caricatured, by the non-Indian members of their fold, who have no idea of the evil effects of the relaxing of traditional restraints. Christianity in India to-day hears the call of Hinduism. She may pay heed to it and follow or she may be deaf to it and refrain. But all signs indicate that she is choosing wisely. She is attempting to combine the best elements of Hinduism with the good points of Christianity, and if she succeeds, it is not India alone that will be the gainer by this Hindu Christianity. The spiritual life of the world will increase.

Ancient Tamil Society as Depicted in the Purananuru

III

By R. Rangachariar, M.A., L.T.

Position of Women

Women as a class had an honoured place in society. They looked after the business of the household and assisted their male relations in their professional work. Still from a religious point of view, they occupied a subordinate position in the family. Among the upper classes of the people, good manners required that they should not move about freely ; but among the poorer orders there was no such restriction. There was no purdah system in the sense in which it is understood now. It is surmised that it was introduced into India by the Greeks and the Persians. After its introduction, special apartments were assigned for the residence of the royal ladies, into which men who were strangers would never dare to enter. The Maravar women were known for their bravery and patriotism. Sometimes the kingdoms were ruled by queens. During the life-time of the king, the queen was a co-partner in the administration, and shared its responsibilities. (Mani xxiii. 4).

In their marriage relations, we find them in all their glory and virtue. They exercised freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands, and their mutual love was a guarantee for a lasting union. The marriageable age was twelve for girls and sixteen for men. This is not child-marriage, as girls generally attain puberty in Southern India at twelve. Marriage was followed by consummation. The writings of the Greek historians which show that some South Indian people married and co-habited with girls at the age of seven and that as a race they died prematurely on that account, if it be taken to refer to the Dravidians, is pure exaggeration. The formalities of society required the consent of the parents for a religious union. The eight forms of marriage of the Brahman writers were only an attempt to consolidate all known forms of union from the lowest and the basest to the highest and the most lofty. Of these some do not deserve the name of marriage at all, and, until a later day, many of these forms had no counterpart in Tamil society. They had very high notions of married life. Sati was prevalent on a large scale. Widows led a chaste and sweet life of penance and renunciation (Mani iv. 45–6) either in their own homes or in those of their parents. There was no mention of any re-marriage among them. No property was held separately by them excepting jewels, and there was no recognition of any right for them to inherit property.

Tamil literature rings with the praise of the chastity of women and the power that virtue gives them in times of trial and sorrow. Old maids were an exception and they evoked the pity of the people for wasting their lives without enjoying the sweets of the world. This leads us to think that the marriage of girls was almost compulsory, so that a religious significance came to be attached to it. It was believed that a person who did not beget a child for performing his or her obsequies usually went to a particular hell (*puth*) and that for such a person salvation was very difficult to obtain.

On the cultural side they were on a par with their brothers. They learned all the arts, sciences and philosophy. There were great poets among them who were recognized as such and were warmly received in royal courts. Music and dancing were their special accomplishments and were not considered as lowly or ill-suited for ladies even of the higher orders.

The courtezans, in spite of their ill-fame, were an intelligent class, well versed in the sixty-four arts prescribed for them. Their company was a source of perennial pleasure of a higher kind to many a rich youth, who could afford to satisfy their cupidity and exactions. They were brilliant conversationalists and captivated the minds of their hearers. No wonder then that many fell victims to their charms and accomplishments.

Industries

Agriculture was the mainstay of the people. A variety of products, food-stuffs, flowers, and fruits were raised for which there was a large demand. The breeding and rearing of live-stock for agricultural and domestic purposes and the raising of a good breed of hunting dogs also engaged their attention. They likewise engaged themselves in various useful arts and industries essential to civilised life and attained great proficiency in them, in spite of their primitive methods and their simple tools and instruments. They worked in all the metals, ordinary and precious, prepared jewels of gold and precious stones, made weapons and armours of tempered steel, wove very fine and delicate cloths [1] of cotton and silk for the well-to-do and coarser ones for the poor; prepared rugs, carved ivory and wood, and shaped them into images and furniture; worked and inscribed in stones, manufactured salt, made pottery for domestic and ceremonial purposes, and showed considerable skill and neatness of execution in painting, sculpture and architecture, as well as in the preparation of the several musical instruments. The people of India were the only nation who knew the manufacture of steel in ancient times; and South India, especially the districts of Salem and Coimbatore, was formerly the place where steel was

[1] In the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. III, ch. IV, page 195 the following lines occur :—'No less surprising is it that cotton which has for many centuries been the staple article of clothing of the people of India and other eastern countries should scarcely find a place in their early literature.' We need only say that the statement betrays meagre knowledge of early Tamil literature.

produced in large quantities and from which it was exported to foreign countries. The famous steel of Damascus was of Indian make and imported from South India. Alexander is said to have been presented by Porus with a quantity of fine steel which he got from South India. Dyeing, brewing, perfumery, garland-making and the preparation of toys were also their specialities.

These industries and manufactures were carried on in the houses of the workers themselves. They invariably lived together in a street, or a part of the town and managed their business without outside intervention. The factory system was non-existent. Division of labour was confined to the workers and their immediate assistants. They had guilds which regulated their industries. There was no wage system except to hired labourers. An apprentice system probably existed. The women of the family freely assisted their husbands and brothers in their work. The artizan classes were specially encouraged and protected by the kings. The several classes of the people who engaged themselves in these industries became, in course of time, identified with their special occupations, and were collectively called by different names after the business they were engaged in. Their occupations descended to their heirs also for many generations, and when the rigour of class exclusiveness enveloped these hereditary occupationists, each of the communities began to crystallize into a separate caste, until to-day there are as many castes as there are openings for livelihood.

As great patrons of everything that contributed to the glorification of their lands and the happiness of their people, the Tamil sovereigns did not fail to encourage foreign craftsmen who wished to settle in the Tamil country. Under their liberal patronage, mechanics and artizans from other parts of the Indian peninsula like Maghada, Maharashtra, Avanthi, Kosala, Vatsa, Guzerat and even foreign artizans from outside India—from Greece, Arabia and China—settled in the Tamil cities and freely mixed with the people, teaching the Tamils whatever they knew and learning everything possible from the people. It is believed that these foreign immigrants were the ancestors of the southern Panchaulars or the five artizan classes of later days, namely, the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the coppersmiths, the carpenters, and the masons. Their services were largely in demand in the days of the Hindu revival as a result of which they came to occupy a higher position in the social life of the people. In courses of time, they claimed equal rank with the Brahmans, claiming for themselves a genealogy which traced their origin from Visvakarma or Maya, the Asura architect and builder. They are now divided into several minor castes and have spread over the whole of the peninsula, speaking its principal languages.

Internal Trade

The produce of one part of the land was always in demand in the other parts. This gave rise to internal trade and many people took to it as their profession. But in those days the wants of the people were very few, as

they still are among the masses of India. The one produce that was quite indispensable to the population and hence largely in demand was salt. This was taken by the salt-seller, up-country in carts drawn by bullocks, or on the backs of pack asses (Pur. 60). In the same way pepper was transported down hill for the supply of the people on the plains and the coasts. The traders were also engaged in selling the eighteen different kinds of grains and pulses and every other produce for which there was a demand. As the internal trade had to be carried on through difficult forest tracts, much frequented by highway robbers and marauders, the merchants always travelled together in caravans. They took with them articles of small bulk but of great value. To protect them and their property against bandits who infested the highways, the kings and chiefs stationed armed guards at convenient places along the trade routes, and for their upkeep raised tolls upon the goods passing through their dominions. [Perumpanatruppadai.]

The Trade Routes between India and the West

There were two trade routes known from antiquity between India and Europe. One was a land-route, and the other was partly a land-route and partly a sea-route. The land-route started from the Indus and reached the Caspian Sea by way of the Hindu Kush and the Oxus; thence the goods were taken up the Volga and distributed to the rest of Europe. This route was also the highroad from China to Europe. Both these met near the Hindu Kush. Owing to the difficulties and dangers on the way, the silk trade of China was later on diverted to Sindh and Guzerat *via* Bactria and the Punjab. The combined sea and land-route was the Indo-Syrian trade route which starting from Western India, reached the Arabian coasts and thence passed through Arabia and Mesopotamia. This was the oldest and the most famous of the trade routes. It passed through a difficult country from oasis to oasis and when it reached Damascus, it branched into two, one leading to the ancient cities of Tyre and Sidon on the Levant, and the other, through Palestine, to the eastern coast of the Red Sea and beyond that into Egypt. The Red Sea route from India was at that early period not fully explored. Still some trade was always carried on by that highway and the maritime town of Eudaimon (Aden) became very early the centre of commerce between Egyptian and the Indian merchants.

Owing to the prevalence of piracy in the Arabian waters and the distaste which the Egyptians had for a sea-faring life, the Indo-Syrian route was popular from the beginning, and the Phœnician merchants and mariners had the monopoly of this trade. Their maritime cities on the Mediterranean Sea became wealthy, populous and powerful. When the empire of David and Solomon rose to power and commanded the Indo-Syrian caravan route. King Hiram of Tyre (B. C. 980) made an alliance with Solomon of Egypt, and the first commercial expedition of Solomon to India was despatched. 'They came to Ophir and fetched from thence 420 talents of gold to King

Solomon' in addition to the ivory, apes, peacocks, sandalwood and rice. Ophir has been identified with Soupara, five miles north of Bassein, the capital of Konkan, from 1500 B. C. to 1300 A. D. That Ophir was a very old and famous town can be seen from a reference in the *Mahabharatha* that Shurparaka was a holy place. It has also been mentioned by Buddhist and Jain authors and by Periplus (Ouppara).

Later on, when the Persians under Cyrus (557 B. C.), and Xerxes founded a vast empire on the ruins of Babylon, trade passed into their hands and the land route from Western Asia was used for a while. The Persian Empire was overthrown by Alexander, and under him Alexandria became a great mart and the Persian Gulf route was revived. The impetus that he gave to trade was very great and during the time of his successor, Ptolemy, the Red Sea-route became the main highway of commerce. He built a town, called Berenice, on the Western shores of the Red Sea, from which caravans started to Alexandria.

When the Romans built a powerful Empire which extended over the three continents of Europe, Africa and Asia, the monopoly of trade passed into their hands. Under their rule the port of Alexandria grew in wealth and importance. The Indo-Syrian trade route was revived, and all along the desert-route inland centres of trade sprang up, of which the town of Palmyra assumed great prominence. In the meantime the discovery of, or rather the re-discovery of, the monsoon winds by Hippalus (47 A. D.) had considerably improved the communication between Aden and Western India; and mariners, instead of undertaking the long and tedious coastal voyage from Aden, now boldly sailed with the monsoon winds in mid-sea and reached their destination much more quickly (in 40 days).

Similarly, sailing vessels from China, Java and the Pacific Islands touched the Tamil countries on both the coasts. The islands of the Indian Ocean gave them convenient halting-places on the way. Patala (Tatta) on the Indus, Barygasa (Broach), Plithana (Paithon), Soupara (Ophir of Periplus), Calliena (Kalyan near Bombay) and Semylla of Ptolomy (Chaul, 30 miles south of Bombay in the Bombay Presidency); Tyndis (Thondi, modern Quilandy), Liuke (sacrifice rock), Musiris (முசிறி), Bakara (வைக்கரை), Kumarikodu (Comorin), Kolkai (கொற்கை). Thondi of the Cholas, Pukar (காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம்), both in the Tamil land; and Maisolos (Masulipatam) in the Andhra country were all famous marts from very early times. In order to strengthen trade between Rome and Southern India, the Roman Emperors and the Tamil sovereigns mutually sent and received embassies. It is said that the Pandyan embassy was graciously received successively by Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius, and Julianus and that a Roman colony was established in Madura and Cranganore, in the latter of which there was a temple of Augustus also,

International Trade

From the foregoing statements, it is evident that there was trade between the Tamil countries and East Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece and Rome on the West, and Java, China, and the Indo-Chinese peninsula on the East. The chief exports were silk, ivory, pearls, gems, and pepper; and in payment for them the foreign merchants brought gold, silver, horses, brass, tin, lead, coral, mirrors, lamps and wines. The Yavanas were the principal carriers of trade and this term includes all westerners—Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Arabians. They settled in the Tamil emporiums and carried on a brisk trade with India. They had large and flourishing colonies in the South of India—especially the Yavanas of Arabia who were called the Sonagas. The Marakkayars, a community of Tamil speaking Muhammadans, who at present live in the maritime tracts of the Ramnad district, are said to have emigrated into the Pandyan kingdom after the submersion in the second century A.D. of Kavirippumpattinam, the emporium of Chola monarchs; as such they must be the descendants of those Sonagas who previously settled in the Tamil countries for purposes of trade. Till recently they commanded a large trade and still possess with them their hereditary trade aptitudes, in spite of many vicissitudes of fortune.

Tamil merchants also visited foreign lands, sailing in their own ships, built and manned by themselves, for purposes of trade and colonization. There was also overland trade as previously stated, through the Himalayan passes, between the Tamil land and China, Japan, Tibet, and other Asiatic countries. Gold, the tail of the Yak, silk and musk were the principal imports from these Asiatic countries. Thondi, Musiri, Pukar, Manthai, Kolkai and Marungurpattinam were great centres of commerce. We have a very good and elaborate description of some of these *entrepots*, and especially of Musiri and Pukar, in the Tamil classical works (Pattinapalai. Agam and Chilappathikaram (இந்திரவிழவூரெடுத்த காதை and கடலாடு காதை), The masses of the people simply bartered their goods and got what they required in return, as white paddy for a pot of curds (Pur. 33), or venison and toddy for cows. Gold was always the standard of currency and large quantities of gold coins were in circulation among the richer classes. These were called kanam (காணம்) probably a contraction of (காஹாபாணம்), a north Indian unit of weight. What its purchasing power was, is impossible to ascertain now. Even foreign gold coins found their way into India in payment for the exported articles of commerce, and Pliny, the Roman historian, laments that his country was annually being drained of a large quantity of gold, worth fifty-five millions sesterces (£486,979)[1] Silver and copper coins were also minted and passed into currency:—silver was a rarer metal than gold, and was brought by the Phœnicians from the West as

[1] Mommsen gives £5,000,000; *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. III. p. 258—£458,000.

an article of exchange. They used very accurate balances for weighing, the beam of the balance being made of ivory. Their calculations were of an advanced type.

Credit

There were no banks then. Wealth was centred among the few and they kept it in cash and jewellery in their strong rooms. The king had his treasury in his palace. The poor buried their small savings. Giving loans was very common, and they were honestly discharged.

(To be continued.)

Religious Persecutions in Mediæval South India

By N. Venkataramaniah, B. A. (*Hons.*)

I

It is often said that India has not known religious persecution. This view finds favour with those people who desire to see nothing but good in the history of their own country. So long as this spirit of nationalism does not invade the minds of scientific thinkers, no serious harm need be apprehended. But the strength of nationalism seems to be overcoming the desire of scholars to give utterance to truth. In a recent work published by the Calcutta University, it is maintained that South India was free from religious persecutions in the past. 'This story of persecution,' says the author, 'has in it features which seem the common features of similar stories. . . . . . In such cases these seem to have been concocted by the later hagiologists to enhance the glories of their own particular form of religion. In each one of these cases, it can be proved conclusively that there is no evidence of a general act of persecution, such as is described, as these religions flourished in undiminished influence, even after these persecutions are ascribed.'[1]

It is, no doubt, very pleasing to hear the virtues of one's country praised; but it is better to examine the statement with reference to its truth than to accept it blindly. It appears that the stories of persecutions have common features. What are the common features that are referred to here? A debate, followed by a defeat; and then massacre of a vanquished party. If these are the common features that are alluded to, it must be pointed out that these are common to all religious persecutions. They can even be found in the case of persecutions in Europe. Must they be considered false on that account? There can be no smoke without fire. Unless there were some persecutions, there could have been no stories regarding them. If India had never known persecutions, how could these hagiologists have scented them, especially when they were in complete ignorance of what was taking place in the outside world? Why should the hagiologists be blamed? It is said that they 'concocted' the stories of persecution 'to enhance the glories of their own particular form of religion.' Granting all this for the sake of argument, one fails to see how the non-existence of persecution can be proved from them. These hagiologists were not obscure scholars poring over musty volumes. On the

[1] *South Indian Culture*—Krishnaswami Iyengar.

contrary, they were influential teachers and active propagandists. They moved constantly from place to place, defeating professors of rival sects, and receiving converts. Such men must have wielded enormous power over the minds of the people. If they spread the 'concocted' stories of persecution among their disciples, what effect would it produce? Were these stories calculated to secure peace? But what did these hagiologists gain by concocting stories? Was it glory for their particular form of religion? If it was glory that they wanted to acquire, then the stories calculated to procure it would not have been considered inglorious. It follows from these that the hagiologists must have believed in the efficacy of persecutions? This idea does not appear to have dawned upon them suddenly. It is very probable that they inherited an old tradition from their fathers; and it was this, which they had incorporated in their writings. Again, it is said that Jainism flourished even after these supposed persecutions had taken place. On this basis, it is argued that there could have been no persecutions, for Jainism must have perished completely in these struggles. The argument is quite unconvincing. Is it true that an act of religious persecution must necessarily be followed by the destruction of the faith so persecuted? In that case, most of the present religions of the world would have disappeared long ago. Both Protestantism and Catholicism exist to-day in Europe; and yet we know from the history of Europe that both these religions were fiercely persecuted; but if we have to stand by the dictum just described, we must conclude that there were no persecutions in the past, or that these religions do not exist at the present day. Hinduism was bitterly persecuted by the Muhammadans; yet it exists to-day. It is clear that the theory which aims at proving the non-existence of religious persecution is not tenable. On the contrary, it can be conclusively proved that India has seen bitter religious persecutions. There are abundant materials at our command to prove that at one time kings and princes inaugurated wide-spread movements of persecution, and many thousands of people lost their lives either in flames or at the stake.

II

(1) There are numerous allusions and descriptions in the Sthala Puranas and sectarian writings to show that people were very much persecuted on account of their religion. The Vaishnava reformer, Ramanuja, was the object of Saiva persecution. ". . . . the Chola ruler, for the time being, often given the name Kulothunga, took it into his head to demand assent to the doctrine, 'Sivat Prataram nasti,' 'there is no being superior to Siva.' This seems to have been aimed particularly against Ramanuja propagandists, perhaps because of a few prominent conversions. . . . . Ramanuja was summoned to appear in the royal presence, Ramanuja's friends feared danger . . . ., assuming the dress of a householder, and at the head of a small body of adherents, (he) betook himself to the kingdom of Hoysala Bithi

Deva . . . . Kuruttalavan and Perianambi went to the Chola Court (the former personating Ramanuja) in obedience to the royal summons. There the question was put to them, whether they subscribed to the statement, 'Sivat Prataram nasti' 'Kuruttalavan subscribed with a reservation,' 'Dronamasti tatparam'; 'there is Drona above Siva,' taking Siva in the sense of a measure, Drona being a bigger measure. For this impertinence the angry king ordered the putting out of the eyes of the two Vaishnavas.[1]

'. . . . This account relies particularly on two contemporary works. '. . . . one of them had been read before Ramanuja and obtained his *imprimatur*. This is the work of Amudan of Arangam. . . . . The other is the work of a disciple also by name Vaduhanambi. . . . . This is called Yathirajavaibhavam . . . . it strikes one as being particularly reliable . . . . .'[2]

After what appears to be an exhaustive examination the following conclusion is drawn: 'The Chola ruler at that time was Kulothunga, the Chalukya-Chola . . . , he was persuaded by others into compelling all to assent to the doctrine of the supremacy of Siva. This is not at all improbable, considering that this was the period of great Saiva activity, and the ruler was a special patron of Sekkilar . . . . Ramanuja was compelled to leave the country . . . .'.[3]

(2) There is also another literary tradition which ascribes to Ramanuja a bitter persecution of the Jainas; it is said that at his instance, king Vishnuvardhana had a large number of Jainas ground to death in oil mills. It appears that many Jainas became Vaishnavas to escape annihilation; many Jaina basadis were converted into Vaishnava temples. Much doubt has been thrown upon this tradition, for what we know of Vishnuvardhana from inscriptions show him to be an enlightened and tolerant monarch. But a close scrutiny of these inscriptions seems to reveal the truth: Bitti Deva was not a tolerant prince as he at first appears to be. One of the generals of this king named Punisa was a Jaina. 'He made a grant of land for the basadis of Tricuta . . . .'[4]. In this grant he is described as one who built basadis of Gangavadi ninety-six thousand, 'without room for any fear, in the manner of the Gangas.'[5] This last phrase is very significant. This grant was made in 1117 A.D., and Bitti Deva was converted in 1116 A.D. The Gangas were Jainas, and all the Hoysalas also were Jainas until 1116. That was why Punisa said that he built the basadis 'without room for any fear in the manner of the Gangas.' Unless there was some restraint put on the freedom of worship of Jainas, the phrase would have had no meaning. This seems to indicate that there had been persecution Who would have dared to persecute the large Jaina community, unless it

[1] *Ancient India*, pp. 207, 209.—Krishnaswami Iyengar.
[2] Ibid, p. 212.
[3] Ibid, p. 213.
[4] *Epi. Car.* Vol. IV. p. 10.
[5] Ibid.

be the king who appears to have been filled with enthusiasm for his new faith. This view gains support from the remarks of Mr. Rice in connection with the construction of enclosures around the statue of Gummata at Sravana Belgola. 'But with the *Conversion* to the Vaishnava faith of the Hoysala king Bitti Deva (subsequently called Vishnuvardhana). probably in this year (1116 A.D.) by the reformer Ramanujachari, great animosity was excited against the Jainas . . . . There are even stories of Ramanujachari having mutilated the image so as to ruin it as an object of worship. No trace remains of such injury, unless it be the forefinger of the left hand which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint, and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again.'[1] To secure the statue from Vaishnava attacks, the Jainas built enclosures around it.

There is, however, one difficulty which demands solution. Most of the officers of Vishnuvardhana were Jains; Santala Devi, his chief queen, was a Jain; and many of the courtiers were Jains. Again, the king honoured the Jaina scholars until the day of his death; and he endowed the Jaina temples richly. How then can it be maintained that such a king should have persecuted the Jains? The difficulty, indeed, is very great, but it is not insurmountable. The king might adopt a policy of persecution in his zeal for his new faith; but when the policy began to take a material form, it must have shocked his subjects to such an extent as to make them strongly remonstrate with the king. It was the opposition of his Jaina subjects and officers that made him relinquish this policy. This seems to be the probable view; for on the one hand, it explains the literary references, and on the other, makes intelligible the general absence of allusions in the inscriptions to an intolerant religious policy.

(3) This, however, is only an instance of a common phenomenon which manifested itself very frequently. These persecutions were common in all parts of Southern India. In an early Lingayat work, a long list of persecutions is given:

(*a*) Devara Dasa, having vanquished the Jainas in argument, established that Siva was the Supreme God, and built him a temple at Potlacheruvu; moreover, he destroyed seven hundred Jaina basadis, and had the images of Jaina broken.

(*b*) Brahmayya vanquished the Jainas in argument at Kovur; then they had recourse to mantras (magic) by means of which they burnt a banyan tree to ashes to prove the truth of their religion. Brahmayya however, pronouncing the king of mantras, restored the tree to its original condition. This miracle was soon followed by the demolition of all Jaina basadis.

(*c*) Ekantha Rama destroyed the Jaina basadis by cursing them.

[1] *Epi. Car.* Vol. II. Intro. p. 37.

(*d*) Bandara Basava had his head cut off at Cuttack to prove that Siva was the only God; but on the seventh day, having by the grace of Siva, obtained a fresh head, he danced in the streets of the City, singing the praises of that God. Then he had all the Jains burnt.

(*e*) Marulige, a great devotee of Siva, and Hiriyanagayya, having killed the Jainas, installed Maheswara in the Hiriya basadi.

(*f*) Pillanayanar having cured the deformity of Kun-Pandya, king of Madura, converted him to Jainism, and instigated him to impale all the Jainas, and destroy their basadis.

(*g*) The Jainas had Vagisa Nayanar thrown into the flames, had him trampled under an elephant, drowned him in water, and finally poisoned him, but by pronouncing Panchakshari Mantra, he not only escaped death, but was able to drown the Jainas themselves.[1]

(4) Another Saiva work of the fourteenth century refers to a great persecution of Jains. The great Telugu poet Tikkana visited the Kakatiya court at Warungal on some state business. Ganapathi, the ruling prince, was a sincere Saivite. The flourishing Bauddha and Jaina communities at Anamakonda offended him by their mere prosperity. He summoned the Buddhists and Jains to his court, and ordered them to argue with the poet-scholar Tikkana and maintain their position. They were, however, easily vanquished. 'Then the king commanded that the Bauddha stupas should be levelled to the ground.'[2] 'Though Virasaivism was spreading all over Trilinga Desa during the twelfth century, many Jains were living in great security. As the Saivas and the Brahmanas could not bear to see the prosperity of the Jainas at Warungal, they instigated the Emperor (Ganapathi) to exterminate them. He destroyed thirty-six Jaina villages. It is said that all these things took place at the instance of Tikkana . . . . It was also during the days of Ganapathi that the Jaina goldsmiths and Telagas lost their hereditary appointments as village accountants on account of their faith. These were given to the Brahmans . . . . Taking all these into cosideration . . . . it is clear that the Emperor Ganapathi was very intolerant in religious matters. We cannot but accept that the legends which attribute the destruction of Jaina temples and villages, and massacre and expulsion of those that refused to change their faith, to the Emperor Ganapathi, contain a very great element of truth.'[3]

Most of the information that has been discussed above is taken from literature. It is very likely that the incidents described therein are absurdly extravagant. Notwithstanding, they contain a kernel of truth which we have no right to ignore.

[1] *Panditaradhyacharitra*—Soma.

[2] *Siddhesvaracharitra,* Quoted in Dr. Seshagiri Row's *Studies of Southern Indian Jainism.*

[3] *History of the Andhras,* Vol. II. Ch. IX, pp. 264-65. Veerabhadra Row.

III

Religious persecutions were so common and so sensational that they captured the popular imagination. We find them reflected not only in literature but also in art. They took their place in the world of temple sculptures. We have already referred to the conversion of Kun-Pandya of Madura to Saivism. After his conversion, 'he persecuted his late co-religionists with the most savage cruelty.' 'Certain unpublished sculptures on the walls of a temple at Tiruvatur (Tiruvattur) in Arcot are believed to record these'.[1] 'During the persecutions, many of the Jains of Tiruvattur were destroyed by being hanged, cut to pieces, and crushed in oil-mills. These modes of persecution are represented by sculptures upon the walls of the temple.'[2]

IV

This view is confirmed when we consult some of the available inscriptions. An inscription of Bukka I of Vijianagar (1368) throws much light on the subject. The Vaishnavas having grown powerful and influential began to persecute the Jainas, who appealed to the king for assistance. The document in question contains the settlement of the religious difference between the two communities. 'Mutual strife having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (or the faithful), the blessed people (i.e. the Jainas) of all the districts included within Anegondi, Hosapattana, Penugonde and Kallehadapattana having made petition to Bukkaraya of the injustice done by the Bhaktas, the Maharayah under the hand of the Vaishnavas of the eighteen districts . . . . declaring that between the Vaishnava Darsana, and Jaina Darsana there was no difference whatever; the king taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of Vaishnavas declared as follows. 'In this Jaina Darsana, according to the former custom, the five big drums and the kalasa (vase) will continue to be used.' If to the Jaina Darsana any injury on the part of the Bhaktas should arise, it will be protected in the same manner as if injury to Vaishnavas had arisen.

'In the matter of this custom, the Sree Vaishnavas will set up the decree in all the basadis throughout the kingdom. As long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaishnava samaya will continue to protect the Jaina Darsana. . . . .'

'The Tatas of Tirumale by consent of the blessed people of the whole kingdom, having given according to doors one fanam a year to provide for the personal protection of the God at Belagula, will, with the gold so raised, appoint month by month twenty servants for the personal protection or as a body guard of the God; and with the remainder of the gold will cleanse and purify the ruined Jainalayas. . . . .'

1 V. A. Smith's *Ancient India*, p. 455.

2 Sewell Lists, Vol. I, p. 167.

It is added in a postscript, that '. . . . dvisetti of Kalleha and Busur Setti, having made application to Bukkaraya, the Tatas of Tirumale came and had the . . . . repaired . . . .'[1].

This is an interesting document from many points of view. It clearly shows that the Jainas were bitterly persecuted by the Vaishnavas during the fourteenth century. The persecution must have been wide-spread; for, in the first place, it required the intervention of the state to end it; and secondly, the Maharaya thought it necessary to have the dispute settled, 'under the hand of the Vaishnavas of the eighteen districts.' The suffering of the Jainas appears to have been serious. Their basadis were either destroyed or desecrated; for as a result of the compromise the Vaishnava Tatas of Tirumale . . with a part of the gold contributed by the Jainas . . were required to 'cleanse and purify the ruined Jainalayas.' Further, the Vaishnavas seem to have hindered the Jainas from offering worship in the basadis; for the Maharaya commands that 'according to the former custom the five big drums and the Kalasa will continue to be used.' The statue of Gummata was a special object of Vaishnava attack, for according to the document, 'with the gold so raised,' the Vaishnava Tatas of Tirumale were required to appoint 'twenty servants for the personal protection or as a body guard of the God,' 'month by month.' This, indeed, is significant for it betrays the manner in which the sectarian enthusiasm of the triumphant Vaishnavism had found expression. Moreover this also supports the tradition mentioned by Mr. Rice regarding Ramanuja's attempt to 'mutilate the image,' so as to ruin it as an object of worship. The postscript exhibits the spirit in which the Vaishnavas had accepted the compromise.

The attack against the Jainas did not come from the Vaishnava quarter only. The Saivas were no less active. If anything, they were even more blood-thirsty. Enough has already been said about the way in which they attempted to annihilate Jainism; but it must also be supported by the evidence of the inscriptions. An inscription of the early sixteenth century recently discovered at Srisailam makes mention of a massacre of the Svetambara Jainas; '. . . a certain chief Santa Linga evidently of the Vira Saiva creed got a car for the car festival. He is reputed as having cut off the heads of Svetambara (Jains)[2]. . .' Thus attacked on all sides Jainism had to succumb to its rivals.

V

The tradition of these religious struggles lingers still in the minds of some people. There is a class of jugglers called Vipra Vinodis in the south of Andhradesa. They pay annual visits to every Brahmin house in the country, demanding rice and money. It is not in charity that they ask for these. They demand them as their due. It appears that these people

[1] *Epi. Car.* Vol. II. No. 136.

[2] Epigraphical Report for 1915, p. 93, See also Appendix C 16.

once assisted the Brahmans in vanquishing the Jains, by means of their art. The most interesting point regarding these people is the small wooden figure of a human being which they carry with them. This represents a Jaina Brahmin; a small iron nail is driven between the legs to indicate the stake on which he had been impaled. Whenever they take this figure out of their bag, they beat it with their palm, and curse it.

Though the days of the struggle for existence of the present religions passed away, the memories still remain. Jainism was crushed out of existence; and its rivals changed their coats, so that thousands of devotees might admire their beauty and gentleness.

The question has been sufficiently examined from different points of view. The facts that have been brought forward to support the position taken cannot fail to force on us the conclusion that religious persecution was not unknown in India. This may not appear as a new discovery to many. It is not the object of this paper to announce a new discovery, but to record a word of protest against the tendency of some responsible scholars to ignore it altogether.

Editorial Notes

We wish to call the attention of our readers to the article contributed by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. In publishing it we must not be understood to give our assent to all he says. But we believe it is well that our readers should be given this opportunity of seeing how a Hindu of outstanding ability, trained and educated on modern lines, views the relation between his own religion and ours.

An unsophisticated reader might well exclaim, on perusing the article, 'But is this Hinduism?' No less he might ask, 'Is this Christianity?' We do not suggest that Mr. Radhakrishnan has been guilty of anything unfair. We believe he has in all honesty given us what he himself holds for truth. But his interpretation of the two religions differs from what we ourselves should have stated—though the difference in the two cases runs in opposite directions. His Hinduism is hardly that of everyday, of the bazaar, of the temples. On the other hand, his picture of the Christian faith can only be accepted as just in the sense that some who call themselves Christian lend colour to it: it is not central, it belongs only to those aberrations which in the case of Hinduism the writer is so careful to rule out. Perhaps this is only the counterpart of what Christian apologists often do, and we must not complain.

But, in the limited space at our disposal, we are constrained to include a few words by way of criticism, which we confine to two points. The parallel which is suggested between the two religions in respect of their conception of God as a trinity seems to us misleading, because the Christian doctrine is misunderstood. The three Persons of the Godhead are not to be understood as three aspects of the divine nature–e.g., Power, Wisdom, Love—regarded in severalty. The Father is all three—Wisdom, Power, Love; so is the Son, and so also is the Spirit. Granted, Christians often speak, often pray, as if *all* the love of God were to be found in one particular Person (it matters not which); but that is only to say that much of the popular religion which is supposed to be Trinitarian and orthodox is no more than tritheism, a worship of three gods—which in turn inevitably becomes in practice 'cathenotheism' or the worship of several gods one at a time. It is greatly to be regretted that men are not content to recognise that the doctrine of the Trinity is a mystery, a great fact of experience, which breaks the bounds of human statement.

Our second point is that Mr. Radhakrishnan does not seem to us to grasp firmly enough the importance of the fact that Christianity is rooted in history. Here again he has a measure of excuse in the fact that many Christians are themselves shaky on the point. The 'avatars' to which he makes reference are not in that sense historic. Rama has only in recent times been accepted as in the sense of scholarship historic: but how different is this historic Rama from the figure of the cult. Krishna can hardly be called anything more than legendary. Buddha is in one sense historic; of him we know more historic fact than of the

rest. But again, what a difference between the historic figure, whose life and work did so much to break up and curtail the sway of anything that can be called Hinduism, and an 'avatar' which could be regarded as the support of orthodoxy. Christianity on the other hand is historic not merely in the sense that Jesus is incontestably a historic person, but in the further sense (too often imperfectly realised even by Christians) that it reaches back through Jesus to Moses and to Abraham, neither of whom can be satisfactorily explained except on the basis of history. The endeavour sometimes made to represent the growth of Christian doctrine as a parallel to the elaboration of the Rama legend, as Mr. Phillips ably shows in the little book which we have reviewed on another page, breaks down when examined in the light of the earliest Christian documents.

We gladly recognise that in Hinduism throughout the ages men have earnestly sought God, nor do we think that they have always sought Him in vain. But Mr. Radhakrishnan's statement of what the religious quest of India demands for its satisfaction confirms our conviction that its goal is to be found in Jesus Christ, and in Him only.

What Men Think

Has St. Mark lost only its Ending?

Why did St. Luke, after following St. Mark's account closely up to the end of his ninth chapter, suddenly desert him for 350 verses and then return to take him up again at the exact point where he left off, namely, at chapter x. 1? 'These 350 verses consist for the most part of matter that is paralleled, much of it verbally, by St. Matthew, so that whatever source it was that he was using here, it was one which he possessed in common with the author of the first Gospel. Now it is quite easy to understand that the two Evangelists possessed *one* source in common, and we know that source was St. Mark; but when we are told that they used not only one but *two* common sources, from which they frequently copied word for word, we begin to think that the explanation is beginning to get a little worn.' Why then, asks Mr. Stather Hunt (in the October *Expositor*), has it apparently occurred to no one to surmise that St. Luke may *still* be following St. Mark—that is to say, may be following a portion of St. Mark which had been lost before the date of the earliest of the still surviving MSS. of the second Gospel?

It is common ground amongst textual critics that the last leaf of the original Gospel has been lost, since the passage which appears in our Authorized version as the last twelve verses of St. Mark is obviously not the work of the original writer. But if the last leaf was lost, this would naturally happen only in one of two ways, namely, *either* through the four-paged sheet to which it belonged wearing through at the fold, *or* through the breaking of the stitching which bound the quires together. If the loss of the last leaf happened in the former way, it would be very easy for the companion leaf (viz. the first two pages of the last quire) to be lost also. On the other hand, if the admitted loss of the last leaf was due to the stitching at the end of the book breaking, it would be easy not only for the outside sheet of the last quire to become detached, but for the whole of the second-last quire to get lost also.

Struck by this possibility, Mr. Hunt has made some careful and ingenious calculations which tend to show (1) that the beginning of the three inner sheets of the last quire of that single manuscript of St. Mark from which all our MSS. have descended would approximately coincide with that point in the Marcan narrative where St. Luke begins again to follow our extant St. Mark, and (2) that if this MS. had lost not only the outside sheet of its last quire but the entire preceding quire as well, the pages thus missing would have exactly sufficed to allow the second Evangelist to tell, with the greater fulness of detail which elsewhere characterizes him, the story which St. Luke tells in the long passage in which he parts company from our extant St. Mark, and regarding which story our extant St. Mark is absolutely silent.

A Character-Harmony of the Gospels

Granted the impossibility of harmonizing the Gospels by piecing their contents into one harmonious and mutually complementary narrative, may it not be possible to authenticate them by the harmony of their portrait-painting? For 'a portrait which is true to the original will enable us to recognise the features of the individual portrayed in other representations also,' while in independent works of imagination such correspondence is impossible. In the November issue of the *Expository Times* Mr. J. A. Wood, lately Canon of Lahore, applies this test to the Gospel portraits of Christ. 'If on a close examination,' he says, 'we find that the Synoptical and Johannine portraits, although drawn in such different media, and so often, from their difference of style, declared incapable of combination, are in fifty points feature for feature identical, then it would seem a not unfair deduction that they are both drawn from life.'

'The argument I here outline,' he continues, 'has grown out of a study made some years ago of the human features of our Lord's character. To be truly man, our Lord must have possessed an individuality of His own, just as He had physical characteristics by which He could be recognised. That individuality was no mere colourless average of human dispositions, but was one with many and varied features fully developed. Pursuing this study, I noted more than fifty features of interest and noted all the references in which I found each trait of character to be exhibited. I started naturally with the Synoptists; but, when I came to St. John, I found, as my reading proceeded, that I was on the track of what in natural science we call a law. On page after page in which a reference from the Synoptists had been entered, references to St. John followed, and what was more, no new pages were begun, till a final review left each page headed "S. J" indicating that it contained references from both the Synoptists and S. John illustrating some particular feature of our Lord's character.'

The article then proceeds to tabulate these fifty or more features under six main headings, and to supply the references under each. Naturally, the degree of evidential force of such a study depends considerably on the alertness of attention and catholicity of receptiveness of the compiler. It would be easy—to cite an extreme case—to reach a seeming harmony of portraiture by the simple expedient of being blind to all but the common-place features in which few personalities, whether real or imaginary, can escape participating. We do not suggest for a moment that Mr. Wood has been guilty of such blindness; but without discussing whether there are any features of the portrait-painting for which he has not looked, and in respect of which the portraits offered are less at one, we suggest that our readers might do worse than follow his example by making a similar study for themselves.

The Psychographic Scheme

The ninety-first annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Liverpool, September 12–19, 1923. The Presidential address of the Psychology section was delivered by Dr. Cyril Burt, M.A., on 'The

Mental Differences between Individuals.' His address drew attention to the fact that within this particular field are to be found the most interesting and valuable advances in modern individual psychology. The keystone of individual psychology as a science is 'the continuity of mental variation.' There are no such things as mental types, but only mental tendencies which the psychologist must endeavour to classify and assess quantitatively. A comprehensive inventory of such mental tendencies with their assessment for a particular person is given the name of a 'psychographic scheme.' Dr. Burt is one of the most experienced scholars in Britain in the use of this method of investigating mental differences; and in this address he gives an outline of the procedure which he follows. He begins with a retrospect of the case-history in order to get the back-ground. Then he proceeds to an examination of the person's present condition by the instruments of observation and experiment. As no mind grows in a vacuum, the psychologist must first examine the environment. 'To study a mind without knowing its *melieu* is to study fishes without seeing water.' Finally it is necessary to turn to the personality proper which as a psycho-physical organism means that due attention must be given to physical conditions. The essential characteristics of the psychograph are the recognition of a trio of important distinctions—the distinction between intellectual and emotional characteristics, that between inborn and acquired mental tendencies, and that between special and general capacities. In any individual examination these various characteristics are assessed. 'Having tested all that he can test, having measured all measurable capacities, having passed in review all available data that throw light upon the rest, the psychologist must in the end bring his mixed materials together in one synoptic survey. He must reconstruct the mind dissected. The most expedient way of doing this is to plot out what is known in this country as a "psychogram," and elsewhere as a "mental profile."'

New types of Optical Spectra

Of all recent work in Physical Science, probably the most remarkable is the investigation of atomic structure. Information on this subject is obtained from two sources—the study of radio-active phenomena and the study of spectra. There are numerous types of spectra, which fall into three classes, band or many-line spectra, line or series spectra, and X-ray spectra. Band spectra are produced by the vibrations resulting from the return of an atom or other part of a molecule to its normal position after it has been displaced. X-ray and line spectra both result from the return of displaced electrons to their proper orbits in the atom. They differ in that visual spectra are produced by the return of electrons belonging to the outer orbits of the atom while X-ray spectra result from changes connected with the deep-seated electrons, and in that the vibrations produced in the former case lie in the visible region of the spectrum while the others lie far beyond the ultraviolet. Each element has a different number of orbital electrons; this number is the most characteristic feature of an element and is called its atomic number. Each element should apparently have as many

spectra as its atomic number. Apart from X-ray spectra, it has been known that almost every element gives two different spectra, its arc spectrum and its spark spectrum. The former is concerned with the outermost electron, and the latter with the second electron. During the past year higher orders of optical spectra have been produced for the first time. There are caused by the third electron of aluminium and that caused by the fourth electron of silicon. These two spectra and the second spectrum of magnesium and the first spectrum of sodium are all concerned with the eleventh electron from the centre in their respective atoms. It is thought that the comparison of spectra resulting from such similarly related electrons in different elements will greatly help in working out the details of atomic structure.

Symbiosis

In his presidential address to the Physiological section of the British Association at Liverpool this year Dr. Nuttall brought together a large number of interesting facts relating to symbiosis. Some of these facts are not very widely known and it may be of interest to repeat some of them.

Each species of orchid is found to be associated with a special species, variety or race of fungus whose presence is essential for the germination of its seeds. The spores of mosses and ferns also will not germinate in the absence of certain fungi. Heather seeds although they germinate give rise to seedlings without roots in the absence of a specific fungus. The production of tubers by plants, including the potatoe, is due to the effect of fungi on these plants. Many families of the lower animal organisms owe their green colour to the presence of algæ living in their bodies. Various beetles, termites and ants cultivate fungi for food, being unable by themselves to digest the matter on which the fungi live. In very many insects there are special structures adapted for harbouring symbiotic yeasts or other bacteria for digestive or other physiological purposes. Most luminescent animals such as glow-worms, cuttle-fish and fish proper owe their light-emitting power to the presence of luminous bacteria or symbiotic fungi. In the case of the cuttle-fish the symbiotic nature of the phenomenon is shown by the presence of a reflector behind and a lens before the tubes containing the symbionts, bacteria in this case. It is probable that most if not all organisms enter into symbiotic relations with other organisms and are unable to exist without these associates. It is thought that all cases of symbiosis began as parasitism.

Book Reviews

Hindu Ethics. By John McKenzie, M.A. London: Oxford University Press, 1922. Pp. xii+267.

Principal McKenzie of Wilson College, Bombay, has contributed this, the latest addition to *The Religious Quest of India* series. He styles it 'a historical and critical essay,' though he tells us modestly in his introduction that the volume is 'rather a study of phases of Hindu ethical thought than a history.' This is the first time that any scholar has attempted such a task, and, considering the vast number of sources that must be explored, it must be admitted that he has done remarkably well. The book contains an astonishing amount of data which has been assembled and organized very well indeed.

The book is divided into three parts, the first two of which constitute the historical sketch whereas the third is a discussion of 'the weightier elements of Hindu ethics.' The historical portion traces the development of ethical thought through the Vedas, the Upanishads, the philosophies and theologies. The advantage of the historical method is that one is able to observe the environmental conditions under which various ethical ideas arose and developed. Some have supposed, and even such well-known Orientalists as Bloomfield have held the theory, that there was a fairly complete ethical system in the Vedic period, which is based on the conception of *ṛita* interpreted as moral order. But McKenzie has shown pretty convincingly that any system of ethics discoverable 'in the Rig Veda is of a very rudimentary sort.' One might go even further and point out that the real meaning of the word *ṛita* is rather cosmic harmony, and its significance for ethics quite secondary. The Vedic period is anterior to that age of differentiation in human history when definite moral ideas arose. It is marked by the belief and practice of magic, and magic is fundamentally mechanical whereas morality is social. It need scarcely be said that the Atharva-Veda is a library in itself on things magical. As Prof. Radhakrishnan points out in his *Indian Philosophy*, the Atharva-Veda is chronologically later, but logically earlier than the Rig-Veda. In the Yajur Veda and the Brāhmanas we see the liturgy in connection with the sacrifice taking fixed form, and the doctrine connected with it suffused with magic. The religion of that period reached the low water mark as far as ethics is concerned. It was inevitable that there should be discontent with such conceptions, a discontent pregnant with a reaching out to such higher conceptions as are found in the Upanishads. In the Upanishads there are quite a number of diverse elements, but metaphysical speculation tended to minimize ethical thought. The ideal presented was the ultimate absorption of the *ātman* in the *brāhman*. That is to say, the highest good is depicted as a state of being in which all ethical distinctions are transcended, a conception numbing to social morality. Buddhism, with its

recognition of the virtue of love, provides more logically for social morality than does Hinduism. In the Bhagavadgita 'the tendency to take morality more seriously' is made vocal. Its merit is in bringing the ideal into vital relationship with the normal activities of life. The conception of duty (*dharma*) without thought of a reward is developed, but it is not a positive, growing, enriching idea of duty.

The last part of the book is devoted to a discussion of some of the outstanding features of Hindu ethical thought—*dharma, karma* and *saṁsāra*, and *yoga*. Concerning *dharma* he says: 'Down through the centuries civilization has stood firm founded on *dharma*, each individual unquestioningly fulfilling the duties of the station into which he has been born. There is something grand about such a social system and it is not wonderful that there are some bred in the restless West who are attracted by the restfulness which seems to characterize life lived within such a system.' (p. 211). McKenzie finds that the doctrines of *karma* and *saṁsāra* are unsatisfying to the Indian religious consciousness at its best, and 'that within Hinduism the forms of religion that have had the greatest influence in the production of moral earnestness have been forms in which the doctrine of *karma* was superseded by a doctrine of grace.' (p. 231). The doctrine presents a too pitiless and inexorable association between work and fruit to be either religiously satisfying or morally inspiring.

A careful perusal of Principal McKenzie's book leaves one with a keen sense of dissatisfaction. That is largely due to the nature of the material. The book itself breathes the author's discontent with Hindu thought as providing no satisfactory basis for ethics. In the epilogue on 'the Hindu and Christian Ethic' that is particularly emphasized. The Hindu idea that the highest good transcends good and evil leaves no room for a genuinely developing moral personality. Moreover, the karmic doctrine, while emphasizing the rigid association of works and fruits, does not always do so in a moral way, and hence the conception of a higher social morality finds no motive. And again he points out that the *bhakti* movement, while giving birth to some of the highest moral and religious conceptions in Hinduism, has also been unhappily responsible for some of the erotic elements. The author believes this difficulty is due largely to a fundamental difference between Christian and Hindu thought regarding evil, the former holding that sin or moral evil is the root of all evil, that from which we need to be delivered, while the latter conceives of the great evil as intellectual evil or ignorance.

The author has attempted an extraordinarily difficult task. In consideration of the fact that he was blazing a new trail, he has done well. A more thorough treatment of the psychological background behind the various elements of Hindu ethics would make some of the positions clearer, and perhaps modify others. Morality, like religion, must be understood functionally, and that involves an appreciation of the situations in which it arises and develops. This is perhaps the weakest element in the book. On the other hand, the author is to be commended for the caution with which he has expressed his criticisms. It is to be hoped that his desire will be realized in a more sympathetic mutual understanding

of each other's ethics on the part of Hindus and Christians, as a result of this study.

A. S. W.

Indian Philosophy. By S. Radhakrishnan, M.A. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Vol. I. Pp. 684. 25*s.*

The paucity of good works in English on Indian philosophy has long been the subject of lament among students. Deussen's work, a translation from German, and Max Müller's were for long the best known works, though latterly Garbe, Jacobi, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Poussin, Bhandarkar, Keith and others have attained eminence in the field. Now within a year we have two works or in each case the first volume of two works, each intended to survey the whole field, and both of them from Indian scholars, Das Gupta and Radhakrishnan. This is a healthy indication. If we are to have the best expositions of Indian thought, it must be the work of Indians who have mastered the critical method of modern science, and have the advantage of participation in the thought under review, as well as an intimate knowledge of the original languages. The work of Das Gupta shows the advantage of an unusually broad acquaintance with Sanskrit sources. The present volume is the work of one who knows Western thought better than any previous writer on Indian philosophy, an advantage that is apparent both in criticism and comparison. In addition to that, Radhakrishnan has achieved a charming English style, which makes the reading of his book as pleasant as it is profitable.

The author makes use of the historical method in developing his work. The first part of the volume deals with 'The Vedic Period', beginning with the Ṛg-Veda, and carrying through to the Upaniṣads. The second period which includes from 600 B.C. to 200 A.D. is covered in the second part under the caption, 'The Epic Period.' This includes Jainism, Early Buddhism, the Epics, the Bhagavadgītā, and the schools of Buddhism. Presumably, the second volume will deal with the six orthodox systems which were developed, and with other movements from 200 A.D. until the present. The author also makes some use of the psychological method. In the introduction he gives a brief survey of the general characteristics of Indian thought, and throughout the book he endeavours to point out the functional significance of various developments. In a work on Indian philosophy such a procedure is extremely desirable, for, as the author shows, the Indians were so oblivious to chronological matters, especially in the remote past, that psychology must supplement history in tracing the development of thought.

The importance of the hymns of the Ṛg-Veda for philosophy consists in the fact that they attempt an explanation of the mysteries of the universe by the light of human reason. One of the most significant ideas is that of *ṛta* which denoted the order of things, and which the author compares to the universals of Plato. We wonder if the stoic *logos* would not be a closer parallel. *Ṛta* means the all-pervading law of the universe, and so offers a basis for morality, and in a sense anticipates the law of *karma.* The main tendency of the Ṛg-Veda is correctly

depicted as 'naïve realism.' That usually characterizes the thinking of people in the primitive stage. It is with the development of reflection that man begins to doubt whether things are precisely what they seem to be. The Atharva Veda is much less significant for philosophic thought as it is chiefly concerned with animism and magic. In the Brāhmanas the tendency is toward 'a mechanical sacerdotalism.'

The Upaniṣads represent a more definitely philosophical movement. Though they are regarded as a portion of the Vedas, yet they advance to a consideration of the problems of philosophy, to an analysis of the nature of reality. This central reality is conceived as infinite existence (*sat*), absolute truth (*cit*), and pure delight (*ānanda*). This reality on its objective side is called Brāhman which the Upaniṣads insist is indefinable, and on its subjective side is Ātman But the cosmological and psychological principles are identical, and the great desideratum is for the individual to realize that identity in his own experience. *Tat tvam asi.* Since the Brāhman is illimitable and indefinable, the contention is that the suggestion of any quality whatsoever would be a limitation. The only answer possible to any qualitative description is: '*Neti, neti*' (not that, not that). It is obvious that such a lofty conception, at the same time so negative, is too vague for man's religious needs. So the Upaniṣads posit a lower as well as a higher Brāhman. The higher transcends the world of human thinking and limitations; the lower belongs to the world of time and space. This lower Brāhman is phenomenal with sense qualities. This doctrine of two Brāhmans, the one corresponding to the Absolute of Philosophy, and the other to the God of religion, involved the necessity of effecting a reconciliation, and this is done by the concept of *māyā* or illusion which is applied to the apparent manifoldness of the Brāhman in its phenomenal character. Radhakrishnan argues that the Upaniṣadic doctrine is not pantheism, because they maintain the transcendence of God, and teach that he is not exhausted by the course of the world. He is more correct however when he points out that many elements of thought enter the Upaniṣads, and it must be admitted that one of these many elements is pantheism. The identification of Brāhman and Ātman surely points in that direction.

The chapter which deals with the 'Ethical Idealism of Early Buddhism' is one of the best in the book. There are certain reasons why Buddha and his teaching continue to have a powerful appeal. For one thing, 'the great Buddha typifies for all time the soul of the East with its intense repose, dreamy gentleness, tender calm, and deep love.' Furthermore, the ethical earnestness, the psychological tendencies, and the aversion to metaphysics and theology appeal to the many who are practically minded. Radhakrishnan finds the Buddhist attitude towards the problem of the relation of religion and science most satisfying, because of the emphasis on universal causation and the eternal continuity of being. This is the Buddhist doctrine of *dharma*. 'The essence of a thing, its *dharma*, is in its immanent law of relation.' Thus Buddhism aims at scientific description rather than metaphysical speculation. Such is the contribution of Buddhism to Indian thought. In other respects the author is of opinion that early Buddhism 'is only a restatement of the thought of the Upaniṣads from a new standpoint.' The

doctrine of impermanence characterizes both; both teach *karma* and *saṁsāra*; both refer all existence to a causal series; both interpret existence as suffering, and voice the hope of a *nirvāna*; both breathe an atmosphere of pessimism. We cannot quite follow the author in his endeavour to explain away the pessimism of the Upaniṣads while emphasizing it for Buddhism. The interpretation of *nirvāna* as the extinction of false desire is decidedly more scientific than the much current idea of it as extinction of existence.

There is a great advantage in the author's intimate acquaintance with Western thought. He continually draws parallels between positions unfolded in the West and in India, which cannot fail to assist students from the West to understand Indian thought as well as Indian students to appreciate Western philosophy. A glance at the references to Western philosophers in the index will show how extensively he has followed this method. Viscount Haldane has already commented on his comparism of Nāgārjuna and Bradley, but this is only one of scores of parallels. This is one of the outstanding merits of an extremely valuable book. It is surely gratifying to the Madras Christian College that one of our old boys should make such an eminent contribution to scholarship in the field of Indian Philosophy.

A. S. W.

Jeremiah—Prophet and Hero. By the Rev. E. W. Felt. Madras: C. L. S., 1923. Pp. ix. and 88. Price As. 12.

This is a timely introduction to the study of one whom many competent judges would unhesitatingly pick out as the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. Every devout reader of the Bible is probably familiar with one or two passages in Jeremiah—the 'new covenant' and the tree by the river may be instanced. But not very many go on to make a complete study, and there are many fine things in the book which are largely unknown to the very people who would value them most. The reason for this neglect is to be found partly in the baffling way in which the book has been put together. An ordinary Bible student, without technical training in Old Testament scholarship, cannot hope to make much of such a book without the aid of a commentary: but the larger and accredited commentaries seem too formidable for his use. What Mr. Felt has done in this little book is to gather up the fruits of the considerable work that has been devoted to his hero, with a special eye to the Indian reader and those whom we may (in no offensive sense) call amateurs in Biblical scholarship, in such a way that the ordinary reader may form a better idea of what the book is all about, and follow out a course of reading in Jeremiah and the related books of Scripture which will help him to a real understanding of the man and his message. He first of all sets forth the historical circumstances under which the prophecies were uttered, then traces as fully as possible the order of the prophet's life, with a fuller attention to the details of his utterances, and then sums up under various headings the significance of Jeremiah's experience and teaching. A sketch map of the prophet's 'world,' a chronological table of the principal events and an outline of his life with appropriate passages for reading annexed, will enable the reader to pursue his task with

no other aids than the book itself and a copy of the Scriptures. At the same time the door is left open for those who wish to make a fuller study, and if we read Mr. Felt's purpose aright, no result would please him better than that readers of his book should be lured on by it to a more comprehensive and detailed study of Jeremiah, with all the help that larger books can give. The reader who feels that he ought to know more of this great religious teacher can hardly do better than begin at once by making a study of him under Mr. Felt's friendly and sympathetic guidance.

F. E. C.

Taking Stock of One's Faith. By the Rev. G. E. Phillips, B. A. Madras: C. L. S., 1923. Pp. 55. Price As. 6.

In an age of criticism, when nothing is left unquestioned, many must be perplexed by questions they cannot answer. Faith may carry them through, even though they cannot see for themselves what the answer to the questions is. But there is always a danger that faith may be undermined by a doubt whether there really is an answer, unless those who are competent grapple with the questions and show that the challenge of inquiry can be met. The Church has suffered untold mischief in the past from a mistaken application of the meaning of faith, as synonymous with a refusal to consider any question on its merits. Mr. Phillips has done a service to the Christian cause in India by frankly taking the occasion to face the central question of the Christian religion—' What think ye of Christ ? '—in the light of the modern spirit of inquiry.

He sticks to that central question throughout. But he rightly insists that the Christian experience of Christ is a vital part of the problem. Too many who have undertaken an examination of the problem have vitiated their work in advance by stating it in such terms as to presuppose a particular answer. To affirm (in advance) that Christ was 'a mere man' or equally that He was 'divine' is not critical at all. Historically, as Mr. Phillips shows, the experience of what Christ was to His disciples preceded any attempt to define what He was, and if we leave out that experience we are leaving out an important and significant part of the very facts we have to explain.

On this understanding he proceeds to trace first the experience itself, as mirrored for us in the New Testament writings and repeated throughout the centuries, next the doctrine of the Person of Christ which grew out of the attempt to explain the experience, and finally the practical conclusions which follow if our experience of the facts leads us to accept the doctrine as our own. To-day it is as it was in the days of the first disciples: 'Increased understanding of Jesus involved increased obligation to follow Him.' One of the outstanding marks of this book is its deeply devotional character. No man can read it thoughtfully and honestly without feeling a new call to follow the way of life which Christ sets before us. It brings out strongly that quality in Jesus to which Napoleon bore such striking testimony—His way of demanding of men complete surrender to His lordship, and not simply demanding it but receiving it from them as no more than His reasonable due.

We warmly commend the book to the attention especially of young Christians in this country. It will lead them not only to a deeper faith in the truth of Christ, but to deeper loyalty to His will. The two things go hand in hand—an argument for Mr. Phillips's interpretation which it is not easy to gainsay.

F. E. C.

A History of Great Britain. By R. B. Mowat, M.A. London: Oxford University Press, 1922. Pp. xxxii+1028. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

Our first feeling on taking up this book was something like impatience. With so many useful histories already in the field (J. R. Green's and Tout's may be named among those most familiar in India), was it necessary to produce another? After a careful perusal of Mr. Mowat's book, we are prepared to admit that if not necessary it was at any rate justified: there is always room for another good book, and this is good. The title is misleading: it is what we should naturally call a history of England. It is true there is a certain amount of Scottish history in it: there is also Irish. There must be a measure of both in any history of England. But there is not enough specific attention to Scottish as distinct from English history to justify 'Great Britain.' Scotland comes in abruptly in the reign of Edward I, without any attempt to trace even in outline the formation of the Scottish kingdom the crown of which was then in dispute.

We have one or two other little complaints. The earlier history, though less important than the modern in the light in which the whole is deliberately treated, seems to us unduly reduced. Of a thousand pages, less than two hundred are given to the story down to 1485. Partly as a result of this disproportion, there are traces of excessive compression. The following account of the House of Commons (for example) would be very misleading to anyone who did not already know the facts:

> 'The representatives of the shires in Parliament were thus substantial men, with landed property and of good family. They were actually of the same social class as the Lords, but they were elected as Commoners, and had to sit with the Burgesses. Thus England, more fortunate than the other countries of Europe, got an Estate of Commons, as wealthy, as educated, as proud and independent, as the great Estate of the Lords.'

Here and there are slips, which should be corrected in a later edition.

But, as we have said, the book has its value. It is modern in its outlook and standards of value. The social and economic aspects of history are not crowded out by the political. And it is lavishly illustrated with pictures which add greatly to its value and are a proof of great industry on the part of its author.

F. E. C.

Visvasi. A ballad in popular Telugu. By Yellapantula Jagannadham, B.A. Ellore: Manjuvani Press, 1923. Pp. 86. As 8.

Gadela Gandadu (Telugu). By Yellapantula Jagannadham, B.A. Pp. 50. As. 4.

Visvasi belongs to a class of Telugu literature which is likely to be developed very largely in the near future. Ballad literature is rarely produced nowadays by the Telugu authors, and books in a language that is easily intelligible to the masses are but few. The author Mr. Yellapantula Jagannadham Pantulu supplies a real want by publishing this *Visvasi.* It is a protest against certain aspects of the non-cooperation now at work in the Andhra Desa. The popular story of a man undertaking to remove a mountain from its place, provided the people lifted it up to his back is beautifully developed by the author to suit his purpose. The book sustains its interest throughout and in many places the diction is very eloquent and appealing.

Gadela Gandadu is also a ballad by the same author and is written like the above in popular Telugu. It contains an introduction by Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu setting forth some of his reasons for advocating popular Telugu. The story of the book is taken from Parnell's *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice.* The idea of ballad literature for the masses is a hit in the right direction, as in spite of the large number of classical books existing in the language, it is the ballad that has become *the* literature for the populace. Homely in language and style, and free from all the artificialities that made the cultured diction not easily intelligible, it is to the ballad songs that thousands of the illiterate masses of the Telugu country always resorted and the author is to be congratulated on the success of his enterprise.

T. R.

Christian Yoga. By J. C. Winslow. London: S. P. G. House and Junnar, Poona: the Author, 1923. Pp. 49. 1s.

This little book contains the text of four addresses delivered by the author on the occasion of Devotional Day on the anniversary of the S. P. G. He makes use of the Hindu three-fold conception of the *mukti-marga* to unfold a mystical doctrine of Christianity entitled *Christian Yoga. Bhakti*, or faith in a personal God offers a good basis of appeal for joyful surrender to Him who is thirsting for our love. The *jnāna-marga* (written '*dnyāna*' instead of *jnāna*) is made the ground for a call to meditation. And the *karma-marga* is an appeal for activity and service as measures of devotion. The final address on *The Christian Yoga* is an endeavour to suggest the type of life that ought to result, but unfortunately it lays stress on the unnatural and abnormal even 'on the physical plane.' There are many valuable suggestions, but we feel that the sources the author has tapped are capable of a more sane and practical treatment of the possibilities for a development of Christian thought and life in India.

Poems by Indian Women. Edited by Margaret Macnicol. Calcutta: Association Press, 1923 in the *Heritage of India* Series. Pp. 100. Paper Re. 1; Cloth Re. 1-8.

Mrs. Macnicol has made a most useful collection of specimens of the work of Indian poetesses. The field is very broad, including, as it does, such expanses of time, as well as so many different languages. It is not surprising that there should be omissions of important sources in such a collection. We in South India are disappointed at finding no representative of the Telugu language mentioned, but that is probably due to the reason that so little has been done in making Telugu literature available for English readers. The representative character of the collection is shown, however, by the fact that fourteen languages are included in the sources, and that they cover a range of eleven different centuries, the oldest being approximately three millenniums prior to the latest. The one hundred and ten poems are from fifty-six different authors. The themes of the poems typify a number of the varying interests of life—love, religious truth, virtue, the place of woman, nature, etc. The volume ought to be a successful refutation of the popular Indian conception of the inferiority of women, for here are chaste expressions of longings and thoughts as profound as any.

College Notes

THE DEATH OF DR. W. MILLER was received with profound sorrow throughout South India, and many meetings were held at which the old boys of Dr. Miller and other citizens of the Presidency joined to register their sense of loss at the death of so great a benefactor of this province. It was in the fitness of things that the Corporation at its general meeting held on the 17th July at the instance of Dr. Mahomed Usman passed a resolution recording its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Dr. Miller, and the resolution was passed the members standing. The students of Madras met together in the Y. M. C. A. auditorium on the 19th July under the presidency of Mr. P. Subramaniam of the Pachaiyappa's College and mourned the loss of Dr. Miller. Another memorial meeting was held on the 23rd July with the Hon'ble Sir K. Venkata Reddy in the Chair when similar resolutions were passed. At that meeting Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswamy Chetty in the course of his speech proposed the establishment of a Miller Institute located in a central place in a substantial and palatial building to be named after him where the sons of India might meet if not to settle their differences, at least to understand one another better. The public meeting convened by the Sheriff was held on the 17th October in the Anderson Hall when His Excellency the Governor of Madras presided. Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyar moved the first resolution placing on record their sense of the great loss India in general and the Madras Presidency in particular sustained in the death of Dr. Miller. Mr. T. Rangachariar seconded the resolution. The Hon'ble the Rajah of Panagal, Chief Minister in the Madras Government, moved the second resolution that steps be taken to perpetuate the memory of the late Dr. Miller in a suitable manner. Mr. C. P. Ramaswmy Aiyar, the Law Member in the Madras Government, seconded the resolution. Mr. Krishna Rao Bhonsle supported the resolution. Mr. M. D. Devadoss, Judge, Madras High Court, moved the third resolution that a Committee be appointed to give effect to the previous resolution and also to decide the form of memorial. Mr. Paul Appaswamy, Judge, City Civil Court, seconded the resolution. His Excellency the Governor in bringing the meeting to a close remarked that the meeting was a contradiction of the statement that Indians forgot the good services of his fellow countrymen.

At the Convocation of the Madras University held on the 4th December, the following reference was made to Dr. Miller by Dewan Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu, who addressed the graduates of the year.

'It becomes my sacred, if melancholy, duty to open my humble address with the widely respected name of one who has been frequently styled the Arnold of India. On the 15th of July of this year terminated a career which close study and correct appreciation can designate by only one word, 'glorious.' The ideals which inspired that life, the principles which governed it, the vigour and devotion which

characterised it, the activities which engaged it, the beneficence which resulted from it, the affection and reverence which were elicited by it, have imparted to that life the significance of a dispensation of Providence. The University is indebted to the Rev. Dr. William Miller for work which, estimated by the period over which it extended, by the directions in which it ramified, by the ends which it sought to achieve, by the results which it helped to realise, will, I feel assured, be universally acknowledged as the richest contribution made by any single person to the growing usefulness of our *Alma Mater*. With all the might of keen foresight, broad sympathy and wide experience, he strove to enlarge the influence of this University upon its Affiliated Colleges so as to augment their usefulness as centres of a liberal education. With the cordial co-operation of devoted co-workers, who always accepted him as their guide and pattern, he replenished the entire South Indian community with the rich asset of successive bands of well-educated and carefully trained members, whom precept and example would inspire to a life of industry and integrity, fidelity and sympathy. Services of this high order and large magnitude justly entitled him to be designated, in one of the previous Convocation Addresses, *doyen* of the Madras University and Madras education. But immeasurably richer than the work is the gift to humanity of the model life exemplified by this prince among men. It is a life which, in the phrase dear to our hearts in this land, may be named *dhanya jeevana*: the blessed life, a life abundant in the blessings of grace. . . . . The message of this emancipated and illumined life may, in some measure, be summed up in the master's own words: the ideal life, for every man as for every nation, is the life of service; and service and subordination are the life of the Universe, isolation and selfishness, its death. To the graduates of the year I can offer no happier felicitation than the benediction of his spirit, and I can address no loftier exhortation than the counsel to follow the guiding signal of his life. Before I pass from this subject, might I bespeak your very calm and deep consideration, as befitting persons of culture, to one observation made by this great teacher? Does it not furnish food for reflection to one and all of us, when Dr. Miller, with his profound knowledge of history, confidently asserts that "the partnership between India and Britain is the appointed channel through which the influences tending towards the complete unification of humanity are to flow." Dr. Miller was the bearer of this great message of confidence, good will and co-operation—of light, love and life—from the heart of Britain to the heart of India.'

THE DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE PRIZES came off on Wednesday 5th December, the day after Convocation, in the Anderson Hall where a large number of students, graduates of the year and members of the staff were present. Dr. E. M. Macphail, Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided. After prayer by Rev. W.L. Campbell, Mr. E. Barnes, Professor of chemistry, delivered the following address:

We have come here to-day chiefly to do honour to those students who have distinguished themselves during the past College Year. These may have been favoured by inherited intellectual qualities, by sound health and by happy home conditions, but I think it will be agreed that no one could have achieved such

distinction in so large a College without great expenditure of steadily applied effort and a real love of learning. Hence we sincerely congratulate them and hope that the success that each has achieved may be only the beginning of a long life of endeavour and achievement, I wish to direct the few words that I say to all students here, whether recipients of prizes or not. I want to ask you a rather pointed question. What have you come to College to get? Are you attending for the certain number of days because the University regulations so require, and is your objective merely the gaining of at least a certain minimum number of marks for a degree, or are these merely incidents and your aim something quite different? You will all, I suppose, say that you have come here for education. Education has been the theme of innumerable books, papers and addresses and it is not likely that I shall say anything original but what I should like to do is to say something useful and practical.

It will, I think, be admitted that mankind is chiefly actuated by his desires and not by reason, and that when he acts rationally, some kind of emotion is generally the motive power. Of his desires, I think the desire to possess and the resultant desire to overcome others in the struggle for life and the possessions necessary for it, are the most dominant. Although I certainly would not say that the struggle for existence has been the only factor in the evolution of man, yet I think it is beyond dispute that the human brain is the continuation and extension of the brains of the less highly organised animals from which man has evolved as a result of this struggle. It is, therefore, to be inferred that these and similar animal instincts will form the substratum of man's mental life.

Now I think that the object of education is not to suppress these acquisitive and combative instincts, but to transmute them into creative effort. By creative effort I mean activity directed towards the accomplishment of those ideals, those glimpses of something beyond and above their ordinary experiences that come to all men at times. The world has not been lacking in poets who have dreamt and written about man's greatest desires and highest ideals, or in artists who have depicted them. The aspect of the question that I wish to deal with, however, is not so much man's ideals as the possibility of fulfilling them. Man finds himself a weak creature, very restricted in his movements, under the necessity to labour continuously merely to get food so as to supply energy for the continuation of this labour, liable to almost innumerable and painful diseases, of short life, fearing the unknown and apparently hostile forces of Nature. He has dreamt of being free from the limitations of time and space, free from physical needs and in possession of all knowledge. Do these things remain dreams, or are they attainable? I think that not only things such as these but others that man has never even imagined can be accomplished. There appear to me to be two obstacles in the way of accomplishing man's ideals. He is bound by physical conditions including his own body and he is bound by his own moral nature. First, let us consider whether man can do anything to overcome his physical environment. I will mention a somewhat trivial example. Man by nature, as I have just said, has a very limited power of locomotion, but he has always desired to annihilate space and be free from material boundaries. You will probably remember in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*

the wishing carpet that wafted one up in the air and carried one to any desired place and the magic tube through which one could see any desired object. These things were regarded as things most desirable but hopelessly impossible of accomplishment by the writer. In these days of aeroplanes and wireless telephones, such things may be said to have become realities, albeit in a crude form at present. I need not enlarge upon the achievements of Science that we are continuously seeing or reading about. If a comparatively few man in a hundred years or so have achieved these results, what may not organised humanity do in the course of time? It is no vain thing to look forward to a time when man shall have completely harnessed and controlled the forces of Nature, when all men shall be free from deadening drudgery, when sickness and disease shall be no more and when want and ugliness and fear shall have been banished. How is this end to be attained? By the application of Science, and by Science I mean the whole of organised knowledge. Science grows by the accumulation of facts derived from experiment and observation and by the co-ordination of these facts. I want to urge upon you as students who have had the privilege of higher education the responsibility that rests upon you to do your part towards this great end. You have, of course, to live in the present as well as to think of the distant future. What I say to you is, choose the subject that you study because you love it, not because it is the easiest or that offering most prospect of lucrative employment; make the subject you study your life interest, not something you study for an examination and entirely drop. Your college career is only a preparation for life's work, a putting of tools into your hands. Make it your ambition to discover something, to add at least one fact to the stock of human knowledge which is to emancipate man. Let all your actions be directed towards universal ends.

Need I point out that here as elsewhere, if you strive for the highest, other things will be added to you? It is a fact of common experience that the mind seizes eagerly upon and retains those facts that excite its interest while great effort applied mechanically makes a relatively slight and temporary effect. This, of course, does not mean that you will not also have to put great effort into your studies, but spade work is accomplished most efficiently and with the greatest satisfaction, when one is impelled by love and a great ideal. Now it may happen that you are not attracted by the subject offered by the College or that you have not been able to get into an Honours class. I want to urge you all the same to make something your life interest. Master some one thing according to your predeliction. The training you receive at college is a necessary basis for any kind of higher activity of the kind I refer to. In India above all places there is a call for this creative effort. The vast population, still largely illiterate and still decimated by disease and degraded by drudgery, demands help. It is the privilege and the duty of you students to prepare yourselves for this great work.

It may be asked what good will it be if man subdues external nature but is not master of himself. This, of course, is a profound subject and involves much besides Science and is beyond the scope of a short address. I will content myself by saying that a life devoted to a great ideal and dominated by love will go a great way to solve this problem also.

The Rev. W. Meston, the Principal, then gave the following review of the year:—

Our last prize-giving was pushed three months nearer the beginning of the year than usual: our present prize-giving has been almost squeezed out of the year. Changes so violent are confusing but they have not their origin in fickleness. The origin is to be sought in one variable and one constant. The variable is the Convocation of the University. We naturally desire to continue our well-established habit of celebrating our prize-giving on the day after Convocation, however late or early in the year that event may be. We are thus enabled to have with us those of our old boys who have taken their degrees and to remind ourselves of the fact that our College is not confined to the 800 who happen to be on its rolls this year, but includes the far greater number, who, though they have left us, are still of us. If they are no longer students of the College they are members of the College. And as they stay with us for a few minutes to-day, after the happy experiences of yesterday, we rejoice in the blushing honours which are fresh upon them. We are thankful for the link they establish between those who are fighting a good fight in the battle of life and those who are still under tutors and governors, and we are no less stimulated by their achievements, on which we congratulate them, than we are refreshed by their presence for which we thank them. So much for the variable: now as to the constant. That is nothing less than an Act of the Legislature, Madras Act No. VII of 1923. In accordance with that Act the whole governance of the University is being reconstituted. If Convocation had been deferred till the reconstitution was complete, it would not have taken place in this calendar year. But it was delayed till there was at least the semblance of a remodelled Senate and the emergence into existence of the other two authorities—the Academic Council and the Council of Affiliated Colleges—which we saw yesterday. For the time being these authorities are what we might call minors in the eyes of the law: they begin to function as soon in the new year as the clauses of the Act which constitutes them are brought into operation. Meantime two memorable facts which you are not likely to let slip are brought home to you by this late Convocation and prize-giving. One is that you are students no longer of an affiliated, but of a constituent, College of the University of Madras with all the responsibility of the new position. The other is that our former Principal, who has kindly agreed to distribute the prizes, exercises at the present time, and with all the sanction of law, the entire functions which are vested in the Senate and Syndicate of the University. These tremendous powers you will admit he contrives to carry with masterly equanimity.

Our College has to submit to tests which are as exacting as are the examinations which its students have to undergo.

The first of these tests is that which is imposed on its staff by conditions of health, weather and service. Judged by that test I am happy to say that the College goes forward with flying colours. And this is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that during the greater part of this year the strain on

the College through sickness and untoward weather has been very great. The changes have been remarkably few. There have been only two withdrawals from the permanent staff and there has been really only one new comer. It is true that within the past fifteen months there have been three additions to the professoriate and three to the staff of lecturers, but all except one of these have served the College in some previous capacity. Dr. Devanesan, who some years ago was lecturer in Biology, joined us in October of last year as Professor of the same subject, after two years of intricate and successful research in the laboratories of the University of London, which gained for him from that University the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Mr. Muliyil became a member of the Senatus in March of the present year, thus naturally relinquishing the post of lecturer in English for that of Professor and attaining the status to which his life and worth so fittingly entitle him and in which his colleagues rejoice to see him. Mr. N. Venkataramanaiya who last year discharged the work of a teacher of Telugu with enthusiasm now displays no less enthusiasm in History, a subject in which he became a lecturer last June. Mr. Rajagopala Rao, whose zeal in Telugu scholarship has earned for him a wide reputation, was appointed to the newly created post of lecturer in Telugu. When Mr. Parameswara Aiyar left for a post in Rangoon in January Mr. Visvanathan, who was formerly with us as Chemistry demonstrator, joined the staff as lecturer in Chemistry after a period of study in Bombay during which he took his degree of B.Sc. The one new addition is Mr. Haworth who, after a distinguished career at Oxford following on strenuous years spent in defence of his country by land and sea, joined the College to fill the professorship of English Philology which has been vacant since Mr. Crawford's resignation. Other changes there were, some in accordance with routine, some in accordance with the unexpected. Dr. Moffat as one of the representatives of the University of Madras to the Imperial Education Conference made an extensive tour during his furlough and rejoined us in January bearing with him the degree of LL.D. with which the University of Toronto appropriately recognised his services to education and to science. Mr. Henderson went on furlough in March and is expected back at the beginning of next academic year. The unexpected touched us when Mr. Macartney found that his recent illness had impaired his vision to a degree necessitating treatment in Europe. He left at the beginning of August and is now under medical observation, the result of which cannot be known for at least another month. Our sincere sympathy goes out to him in the affliction which has befallen him and which he has met with such inspiring courage. In the middle of July we were deprived for a season of the energy and work of Mr. Matthews, who under medical advice was obliged to spend three months on the Nilgiris. He has now been back with us for over a month and his vigour and bodily presence bear witness to the excellence of the doctor's prescription. Two other changes there were which it is a pleasure to chronicle. The first is the bestowal upon Mr. Hogg of the degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Edinburgh, a fitting recognition of his erudite study and literary distinction. The other is the appointment of Dr. Macphail to the Vice-Chancellorship of the reconstituted University of Madras. It was said of a well-known Scottish judge

that when he was raised to the bench, his colleagues at the bar, while they rejoiced in his appointment, felt as if something had gone out of their lives ; they missed from among them his warmth and cheer, his sincerity and sympathy and generosity as a friend. It is even so with us. We are most happy that Dr. Macphail has been made Vice-Chancellor. We regard him as the one man capable of translating the new Act into a beneficent educational measure, but we regret that this has not been possible without his colleagues losing a valued friend and counsellor, his students a unique teacher, and the college a singularly able administrator.

I must not leave this matter of staff without making three acknowledgements. First, we are indebted to Mr. T. K. Venkataraman and Mr. N. N. Vaidyanathan who have filled vacancies of a temporary nature and whose presence with us has been a pleasure and advantage. Secondly, we are indebted to Mr. Corley for forgoing his furlough and returning after a few months absence to give the history department the strength of his presence. And thirdly the College is deeply indebted to the staff for the manner in which it has met the many, the almost unparalleled, inroads made by sickness in the course of the year. But for the readiness with which work has been shared and the willingness with which additional burdens have been carried at the shortest notice, the work of the College could not have been conducted with that smoothness and continuity which have marked its progress during an exceedingly difficult year. For this I desire to express my most hearty thanks.

We have stood this test with its heavy demands in a creditable fashion. Let us look at another one—I mean the financial test. This is a test which we have all to apply and sometimes have to apply with knitted brows and a quaking heart. It is one to which the College has submitted during this year with no little anxiety and from which it has emerged with much gratitude. To carry on all that is done under the roof of this College, including maintenance of staff, provision of equipment, additions to libraries, upkeep of fabric, award of scholarships and prizes, involves an expenditure of something approaching three lakhs of rupees. For some of these objects, such as studentships, the funds are provided by benefactions made to the College, while we are indebted to seven churches and missionary societies for the continued support which their liberality supplies. But as against these have to be set the difficult financial conditions of the country and the fact that for another year certain of the government grants have been suspended. Yet though the clouds are so dark the lining has been silver. Through the careful scrutiny of that pair of eyes and that untiring mind which presides over the Bursar's domain we come to the end of a critical year with our current income and expenditure on terms of harmony with one another. We are grateful to Mr. Mackenzie for another year's successful tenure of the Chancellorship of our College exchequer.

The College has stood with fair credit the test which the University imposes by means of its examinations. It sent up in all to the Intermediate examinations of the University conducted in 1923, 151 students; of these, 63 passed completely, 37 in Part I and 19 in Part II. In other words there

were in the Intermediate class 32 students who with two chances made nothing of the examination. That is to say there were somewhere about 20 per cent of our students in the Intermediate class who, neither in languages which all must take up, nor in special groups of subjects which each can select for himself, were able to show that they possessed average ability. The restriction of admissions to the Intermediate class has made this plain to us at last. I do not say that the time of these twenty per cent. is wasted. From my personal knowledge of the students there are twelve who have distinctly profited by their attendance and will be all the better men and citizens even though they never receive the gratification of the University Intermediate diploma. But the remaining fifteen to twenty have not taken advantage of their opportunities, which means that they have really handicapped the opportunities of others. It would have been well therefore both for themselves and for their fellow students that they should not have entered on the studies of the senior Intermediate class. This conclusion, which is the result of scrutiny of the figures and acquaintance with the individuals, confirms the wisdom of the stricter standard of promotion which was introduced at the beginning of the present academic year.

In the B.A. Degree examination, of the 177 who were sent up for English, 133 passed, while of the 171 who appeared for the various optional groups 94 passed, and the result would have been greatly improved if only the students in History had taken fuller advantage of the opportunities which they possess in the historical department of this College.

Forty-two students of the College were presented for the B.A. (Hons.) examination, and 33 of these obtained the Honours degree, while three were awarded the ordinary degree.

To this I will simply add that of the 850 students who received arts degrees at the Convocation held yesterday, 153 came from this College, and amongst them they carried off five University prizes.*

To my mind the severest test which the College had to face during the year was that which came to it through the passing away of Dr. Miller. Dr. Miller's outstanding personality, his creative power in the moulding of the College, the mighty impress which he left on every portion of its work and aims, the magnetism which he exerted on young minds and retained on those when they had passed beyond the stage of youth—all made the link between him and the College, even after he left India never to return, one of peculiar intimacy and power. The severance of that link might have brought to the College not only the sorrow inseparable from such a break but also a definite impoverishment to its vitality and influence. That the College has escaped this danger is in large part due to Dr. Miller himself. While keeping in closest touch with the currents of

* The following are the winners of the University Prizes:—

Narayanan, K. V.	(The Samuel Satyanathan Memorial Gold Medal).
Chathu Achan, K. K.	(The Northwick Prize).
Viswanathan, V. K.	(The Rao Bahadur M. A. Singarachariar Prize).
Narayanan, T. R.	(The Miller Gold Medal).
Kuttappa, N. N.	(The Koravanda Appaiya Devaiya Prize).

thought in modern India, with the trend of education, and with the changes that were taking place in the College, he never sought to place upon its working, direction, or development, a hand which would in process of the years be a dead hand with a hardened and rigid hold. What he gave to the College while he lived, whether in India or in Scotland, was work, thought, prayer and, above all, a spirit. That spirit, not an organisation, he has left with us, entrusting us with a tradition which is a living power capable of movement and adaptation. Thus it has come to pass that when the College has had to face the test which it met in the withdrawal of Dr. Miller from his earthly service and the breaking of the silver cord that bound us together, it has found itself plunged in no atmosphere of deadening sorrow or constricting tradition but brought into the large room of a Great Heart's inspiration.

Having spoken of the tests I should now like to refer to one or two features of the year.

One of the most noticeable and welcome has been the growing activity of the College Societies. The Philosophical Association and the History Students' Union have worked with renewed vitality ; lectures and excursions have imparted vigour to the Natural History Society ; the Literary Society has held successful debates and the Dramatic Society hopes to transport us before long to the fairyland of Oberon and Titania. The College Brotherhood has once again become an active power in College life and service while the Christian Union has maintained its weekly meetings with unbroken regularity. What has been most cheering in this has been the part played in all these Societies by the members themselves, and the College owes much to the untiring efforts of the secretaries and, let me add, of the treasurers. No one can fail to be struck with the coincidence that the revival of interest in our Societies has been paralleled by a revival of debating power in our local Legislative Council. There is something more than a coincidence here. For it cannot have escaped notice that the chief protagonists in the recent exciting discussion in the Legislature were drawn from the ranks of our old students, and I remember them all as active members of the College Societies.

But the Societies which appeal to the mind have not had it all their own way. The Tennis Club, having had its courts overhauled, has had regular play and continued interest. The Football Club had a successful year and won the Presidency and Wilson Cups ; while the Hockey Club had a no less satisfactory season and showed its mettle by reaching the finals of a competition organised by the South Indian Athletic Association. These clubs have done much for the fine spirit prevailing in the College and we are indebted to the captains and secretaries and to Mr. Matthews and Mr. Anderson.

Nor while we are dealing with the things of the mind let us forget our debt to the College library. Thanks to Mr. Ross and Mr. Chidambaram Pillai, great facilities have been introduced in the course of this year, and every six months (if not oftener) the fertile brain of Mr. Ross finds another means whereby the students of the College may become the full men which Bacon assures us is the result of reading.

Another feature of College life has been the continued interest in the University Training Corps, an interest evidenced by the splendid appearance of the men of our Company who give us a sense of security by their presence with us to-day. The Company has been granted the enlarged strength which, as was mentioned last year, seemed in harmony with the size of our College. It suffers, as does every University Company, from the members who have to leave it on the termination of their College career, but even this difficulty it has surmounted with unimpaired enthusiasm. Let me say that this corps constitutes an appeal to patriotism: not the patriotism that is talked of, but that which calls upon the sons of the country for self-discipline and self-control voluntarily accepted that your country may not be without adequate support in the day of her need. And this call of patriotism comes to us most fortunately as no call to militarism. This land has decided to depend for its defence on a territorial army, and for that army the all-important need is officers; and that need is to be supplied in large measure by you. But if you are to do this you will require so to utilise your opportunities in College, so to develop your powers of intellect and character, as to fit yourselves for places in civil life which will make it possible for you to take your place in the army during the two months of annual training. This College has been permitted to render no small service to this land and has been privileged to give to her teachers, doctors, lawyers, legislators, and administrators of whom we are proud. I look forward to the time when it will have equal reason to be proud of the men whom it gives to her as her defenders against her foes. For when it does this it will have helped the country to take a most important step towards the assumption by its people of that full and responsible government which we desire to see it possess.

Within the past few months an important event took place so quietly as almost to escape observation, yet in such a way as to cast a pleasing light upon one marked feature of our College life. The new University is a firm believer in elections. Colleges elect to the Academic Council, the Academic Council elects to the Senate, the Senate elects to the Academic Council, and both elect to the Syndicate and so on. Thus the process of election has been carried into the quietness of our College precincts. But if all examples of its introduction correspond to our first experience of it, there will be no objection on our part. We had to elect three members to the Academic Council, and three and only three nominations were made, so that we were in the happy position of requiring no ballot. Mr. Manikkam, Dr. Moffat and Mr. Sabhesan are our representatives on that important body of the University and they go to take their share in its deliberations with our best wishes. But it soon became evident that the work which a College like ours is doing required fuller recognition on the Academic Council than what was provided by those who were elected from the staff. The result is that our College has shared in the Readerships which the Vice-Chancellor has created. Dr. Hogg, Mr. Corley, Mr. Ross, Dr. Devanesan and Dr. Woodburne have received in the University the position of Reader. They have been informed officially that at present no duties are required of them and no remuneration will be paid to them: but all will admit that they have received a title which is

singularly appropriate to the five gentlemen whom we all knew to be great readers in the past, and we are glad to think that the University agrees with us.

We leave another year behind us and go forward to the one that lies before. To tread an unknown track brings its anxieties, sometimes its forebodings, but it has also its challenge and stimulus. We are encouraged, in my opinion, to look forward with confidence because of the year on which we can look back. For that year, as it appears to me, has been marked by the clear shining of the golden thread of loyalty woven into the warp and woof of the life of the College. Loyalty of student to staff and staff to student, loyalty of student and staff to the high aims for which the College stands, loyalty to the principles which are inculcated within these walls, so that, when the battle of life is fought, its issue may be not failure but victory. It is that loyalty which has been as an inspiration, enriching the life of the College, and bringing home to those who are here trained a deepened sense of responsibility for the use of the all too quickly passing years of College life, and of the responsibility too for the formation of that strength of character which will rise to the magnificent opportunities which lie before you in the gradual unfolding of the destinies of your country, destinies that lie for the most part in your hands. And, gentlemen, with responsibilities so great and demands so exacting and opportunities so glorious before you, you will soon realise, as the days go past, that the great and inspiring loyalties which you here have formed will through the storms of life be as an anchor sure and steadfast. For they have all their origin in that supreme loyalty which here we seek, with all our limitations and imperfections, to teach and practise. What is that supreme loyalty? We may put it in the words of Him after whom this College is named: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength . . . . This do and thou shalt live.'

Dr. Macphail in distributing the prizes congratulated the prize-winners but warned them not to be led away by their success in their examinations. Success in life demands strenuous application, and he wished to point out that many who have never won any distinction during their college career have been a success in life. Dr. Macphail observed that he was pleased to hear from Mr. Meston that the societies attached to the College were active. He believed in the importance of College societies and the part they played in the formation and development of the character of the students was great. In conclusion, Dr. Macphail said that he felt that, in future, great opportunities would present themselves for the Colleges of the University. He hoped that under the able guidance of Mr. Meston, the Christian College would take a greater and more important place in the life of the University in future.

Dr. Devanesan proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and in doing so, recounted briefly his services to the College both as Professor and Principal.

At the reception to the graduates, Rev. Gordon Matthews addressed them and expressed the real personal interest and the high hopes with which their old teachers would follow them in life. He urged all those now leaving College to become members of the Old Boys' Association and through it and the College Magazine to help to sustain that mutual knowledge of one another's doings which

was necessary that our mutual interest and sympathy may be a source of strength and encouragement to each of us. He spoke a word of cheer to those who were finding it hard to get suitable work, warning them not to let go, in this depressing experience, their determination to treat life as an opportunity of service. He spoke also of the need to-day of using leisure wisely. The occupations which engage the vast majority of people, even educated people, are not soul-satisfying. They often seem to cramp, irk and drudge us. In these circumstances, the spirit of devotion to duty can do wonders, extracting a measure of real content for a man's soul out of the most unpromising-looking work. Then there were the leisure hours. With the development of the mechanical side of life and the consequent increase of the monotony of work and the stunting of individuality, we cannot afford to waste our leisure hours. They must be used and not frittered away. They must be made truly recreative. Sides of our nature which are overstrained in our work must be rested and the complementary sides which are suppressed during working hours must be given a chance of free play and expression. If we are to keep ourselves from growing lop-sided, over-developed, perhaps over-taxed, on one side of our nature and stunted on another, we shall most of us need something over and above our work—something to supply what it fails to supply, may be something artistic, or some specialized study, or a piece of public work or social service. Let us have something whether it be in our work or our hobby, that involves our inaccessible ideal, an ever receding goal. For such things are the only things that can really give us pleasure and satisfaction. 'To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and true success is to labour.'

WE REGRET VERY MUCH to record the death of Rajasevadhurina Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., which took place on Monday 1st October at Mysore. Sir Kantaraj Urs graduated from this College in 1894 and soon after, joined the service of the Mysore Government. The late Sirdar was a brother of Her Highness the Maharanee, the late Regent, and after having served in the different departments of the state rose to the position of Senior Councillor in the Mysore Government. When Sir M. Visvesvaraya retired from the Mysore service, Sir Kantaraj Urs was appointed as the Dewan of the State. But ill-health compelled him to give up the post nearly two years ago, and on medical advice he was recuperating his health at Ootacamund. His health improved and he visited England recently, and returned to Mysore about the last week of September. He was one of the most unassuming of gentlemen and held the premier position in the State with considerable ability and dignity. We convey our sincere condolences to the bereaved royal family.

WE HAVE TO RECORD with deep regret another loss sustained by the College in the death of Mr. M. Arunachalam Aiyar for several years Headmaster of the Primary Department in the Christian College School. Mr. Arunachalam Aiyar was one of the 'boys' of Dr. Miller and joined the School Department as an assistant in 1876. After 38 years of devoted work he retired from the service of the school in 1914. At the time of his death on September 28 he was 72 years

old and much of the popularity the Primary Department now enjoys was due to him.

WE DEEPLY REGRET to record the death from Bright's disease of Mr. R. Rangachariar, M.A., L.T., Lecturer in Tamil and Acting Superintendent of Vernacular Studies, which took place on Sunday 9th December at Mylapore. Mr. Rangachariar joined the staff of the College in June 1922 and, during the short period he was in the College, was able in a remarkable degree to infuse into others something of his own enthusiasm for the study of the vernaculars. Simple, kind and courteous, Mr. Rangachariar won for himself the respect of friends and colleagues. His love of Tamil literature was great and he delighted in the study of that literature for its own sake. A few months before he died Mr. Rangachariar began to contribute a series of articles to these pages on Ancient Tamil Society as depicted in the Purananuru; the third part appears in this number and the fourth and concluding instalment will appear in the April number, of the Magazine. In his early death the College and the Presidency have lost a scholar of great promise. We would convey our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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